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By the students, faculty, alumni/ae
of Wesleyan University
Middletown, Connecticut
December 13, 1988
Vol. XXV, no. 4



John Zai

Hartford Vigil Against Anti-Gay Violence
December 4, 1988

Hartford Vigil Decries Anti-Gay Violence

By Eileen Mullin

About 200 gays, lesbians, and supporters—some wearing masks to shield their identities—gathered despite freezing temperatures at a candlelight vigil at Hartford's City Hall on Sunday, December 4, to call for an end to anti-gay violence. The hour-long vigil was held to mark the 10th anniversary of the murder of Harvey Milk, the San Francisco city supervisor and gay rights activist who

was killed by a former city supervisor.

Harvey Milk's name has become a national symbol of the tragic extent to which anti-gay violence is a part of our culture. Milk was the first openly gay man elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. On November 28, 1978, he and Mayor George Moscone were assassinated by ex-Supervisor Dan White. After a lengthy trial, White, charged with

murder, was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to 10 years for both murders. He was paroled after serving 5 years.

In Hartford, those attending the vigil also remembered many local victims of anti-gay violence, including Richard Riehl, a 33-year-old Wethersfield resident killed last May. Two Hartford teenagers await trial for Riehl's murder. Police have linked these two suspects to a number of other anti-gay assaults in the area.

David Scondra, the first openly gay man elected to Boston's City Council, asserted that our society's uncompassionate treatment of gays and lesbians, as taught to children in the nation's schools and as shown on television, is the real killer involved in these incidents, and "the killer is still loose." Scondra recalled recent commemoration of the 50th anniversary of *Kristallnacht* (Crystal Night) that set the stage for violence and oppression in Germany against the Jews; the lesson of *Kristallnacht* has not yet reached those who perpetuate acts of violence against lesbians and gays. Scondra cited a National Institute for Justice report issued last June that shows gays and lesbians are victimized by violent attacks more often than any other minority group in this country.

Those attending the vigil raised their candles and fists in solidarity as Alexandra Burack, director of the Greater Hartford Bisexual/Lesbian/Gay Community Center, read a list of descriptions of murders, assaults and threats against gays, lesbians and bisexuals in Connecticut.

The list, which was compiled by the Connecticut Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project, contained dozens of violent incidents reported in Connecticut newspapers over the past 22 years, including 20 incidents in 1988 alone. Members of the Anti-violence Project distributed copies of a flyer offering self-defense advice before and after the vigil.

Joseph Grabarz, a state representative-elect from Bridgeport, described pleas for a gay and lesbian civil rights bill to be introduced in the Connecticut State legislature in the upcoming session. He promised to fight for the proposal's passage by the General Assembly during the upcoming legislative session.

Steven Gavron, co-chair of the Anti-Violence Project, said greater individual involvement is necessary to end the pervasiveness of anti-gay sentiment and harassment. Gavron criticized two disc jockeys at local radio stations who, he said, have made jokes about "faggots" and made stereotyped remarks about homosexuals on the air. Vigil participants booed and called out when Gavron named Gary Craig of WTIC-FM and Sebastian of WCCC-FM as the offensive disc jockeys. Gavron suggested listeners complain to the station's officials and to the shows' sponsors.

The vigil was co-sponsored by almost 50 organizations and individuals, including Carrie Saxon Perry, the mayor of Hartford. A showing of the 1984 documentary "The Times of Harvey Milk" at Cinestudio at Trinity College preceded the vigil.

photo by Eileen Mullin



Vigil organizers at rally's end

PNC Two-State Proposal Rebuffed

By John Collins

The historic meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC) in Algiers and the decisions taken there to declare an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel, represents a bold diplomatic move by Palestinian leaders which buries the myth of Palestinian rejectionism of negotiations with Israel. The PNC declaration serves to, as PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat so aptly put it, place the ball "in the American court" (and in the Israeli court as well). The U.S. response to the PNC action clearly shows that the Reagan administration is opposed to the very concept of a Palestinian state. The official Israeli reaction from both major political parties has been, not surprisingly, an utterly rejectionist one. Nevertheless, the Algiers meeting offered the best plan for peace ever given by one of the major parties of the conflict.

The current problem between the U.S. and the PLO effectively dates back to 1975, and the agreement made between Israel and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that the U.S. would not negotiate with the PLO unless three conditions were met: recognize Israel, accept UN resolution 242, and renounce terrorism. At the time that these conditions were established, the U.S. may have assumed that, given internal political constraints, Arafat would not be able to meet these conditions; clearly, the strategy was to make the Palestinians look like the rejectionists.

The basic elements of the PNC declaration must be clearly understood. The first, and most significant, is the acceptance of the concept of partition; in other words, the advocacy of a two-state solution—one Palestinian Arab state and one Israeli Jewish state. This was the intent of UN resolution 181, passed in 1947. As Arafat reiterated in Stockholm, the PLO has unequivocally recognized the principle of 181—partition of the land.

Having accepted the partition, there is then the problem of boundaries. Israel has no declared boundaries, and the PNC has to leave the question of boundaries to negotiation. The second component of the PNC plan: their acceptance of UN resolution 242 and 338 as the basis for negotiations in an international peace conference. Thus the PNC has committed itself to the general territoriality

of 242 which, coupled with the principle of 181, means in all probability a state in the West Bank and Gaza. However, since Israel has never declared any official borders, the PNC in its declaration of independence did not do so either. Their choice of East Jerusalem (not all of Jerusalem) as their capital, and their advocacy of an international conference and direct negotiations indicates their willingness and desire to have a peaceful solution which will respect the rights of Israelis and Palestinians.

The third major element in the PNC declaration is the renunciation of terrorism "in all its forms." Despite protestations to the contrary by American and Israeli officials, this point is made without ambiguity. This demonstrates the willingness of the PNC to bend over backwards to bring about negotiations. Israel continues to commit acts which can only be described as state terrorism, such as sending troops into Central Lebanon on December 9, without offering any explanation; while the PLO has renounced its own use of terrorism. In keeping with their rights as occupied people under the UN Charter, they reserve the right to resist occupation; however, because they have declared independence, they note explicitly their responsibility, shared with all nations, to settle conflicts by peaceful means.

The December 9th Israeli strike into Lebanon, which included the landing of ground troops as well as air strikes and naval support, was Israel's biggest operation in Lebanon since the massive 1982 invasion. The decision to launch the raid at the same time as the first anniversary of the Palestinian uprising (*intifada*) is certainly not coincidental. The Israeli strategy appears to be to provoke a counter-attack by Palestinians, in hopes of discrediting Arafat's recent declarations. Israel has always welcomed the public actions by so-called "radical" wings of the PLO. Clearly, the Israeli raid is designed to foment disunity within Palestinian ranks, a phenomenon which is always gleefully seized upon by the American media.

The *intifada*, now in its second year, coupled with the increased realization by the PLO that they could not win a military struggle with Israel, gave Arafat an opening and

forced him to take it. Scenes of unarmed Palestinians being beaten by Israeli soldiers rekindled massive international support for Palestinian statehood. In Algiers, the PLO decided to call the U.S. bluff by meeting all three of the demands. The U.S. response confirms that the American government, like the Israeli government simply does not want to talk to the PLO. Meeting the conditions means that new conditions will have to be devised. Hence the new policy repeated *ad nauseum* by U.S. officials and apologists for U.S./Israeli policy, that "words are not

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LETTERS

Shepard Responds to Shime

I would like to take this chance to respond to several of the issues brought up in Sandra Shime's letter in the December 9 *Argus*, specifically her charges against me.

To begin with, (not quite so obviously) Sandra is correct in stating that I am not Jewish. As such, she is undoubtedly correct in stating that I cannot possess a "thorough understanding" of the suffering of the Jewish people in the same way that many Jews probably can. In the same vein, I cannot fully understand the oppression of many other groups of which I am not a part, such as blacks, women, etc. However, I do feel that my understanding of this oppression is as great as anyone who has made a conscious effort to do so. I fully recognize the enormous suffering which the Jewish people have undergone, and I understand how in many this has evoked the desire to establish a Jewish homeland.

Quite frankly, I do believe that the Jewish people deserve a homeland. But obviously, a Jewish homeland is not a hypothetical idea. Israel exists and Israel has a state ideology, Zionism. And my opposition to Zionism and Israel is based on my perceptions of what this ideology means and how Israel has put this ideology into practice.

My statements were not 'sarcastic' and filled with 'mockery' as Sandra Shime claims. And none of my statements are directed at "Diaspora Jewry" in general. Some were directed at those members of the Diaspora who always support everything Israel does, 'right or wrong.' I hold no belief that all Diaspora Jews (or for that matter Israeli Jews) are Zionists or support Israel. There is no uniform "Jewish points of view" or "Jewish argument," as Sandra should know; there is, however, a Zionist point of view and a

Zionist argument for their right to Palestine, which I do criticize.

Now, to address more specific attacks in Sandra's letter. Quite obviously, I don't feel my view of the situation to be "simplistic." With full knowledge of the forces that drove certain segments of European and American Jewry to establish Israel, I still believe its establishment totally violated the national and human rights of the Palestinian people; something which the full realization of Palestinian nationalism ("a democratic, secular Palestine," in which all citizens are equal regardless of race or religion) would not do to any segment of the Jewish people.

Sandra Shime says I call "[Golda] Meir and Ben-Gurion terrorists". I wrote that many Palestinians consider them to be war criminals. Sorry, but it's true. My own view is that Ben-Gurion is a war criminal. Anyone who uses force and intimidation to drive out the entire civilian populations of cities that had surrendered and recognized Israeli sovereignty over them (as B-G did), is a war criminal. And Meir said some truly despicable things about the Palestinians. I don't know enough about her actions towards the Palestinians to say more. Both may have done wonderful things for the Jewish populations of Palestine. That doesn't change and should not in any way affect judgements on what they did to the Palestinians. Next, I believe my articles did address the oppression of the Palestinians by other Arab states. From day one the leaders of surrounding states have continually and often brutally oppressed the Palestinians. They stink. But this is not a discussion of Arab vs. Jew, "the Arab World", or "hostile Arab countries." It is about Palestinians and Israelis.

In addition, let me state my belief that in this situation the Palestinians are the

oppressed and the Israelis (among others) are the oppressors. I do believe that the ideal would be a democratic and secular Palestine, run for and by all its inhabitants: Jewish-Palestinians, Arab-Palestinians, etc. But Israel does exist, its Jewish citizens show little desire to participate in such a state, and Palestinians continue to suffer because they lack a homeland. Which is why I do support a two-state solution, if that is what is needed to bring peace to the region and some form of justice to the Palestinians, and that is what Palestinians want.

However, it is still necessary to frankly discuss the terms of the oppression. When one discusses the oppression of women, is it necessary to counter such a critique with a discussion of all the dandy things the oppression has meant for white men? I think not. As in that example, I feel the negative effects of the oppression on both Palestinians and Israelis is far more important.

Ms. Shime, before you call an argument simplistic you have to try to (and want to) understand it. You had the opportunity to do so when I called you on December 4, to discuss a possible interview with you in *Hermes* on the subject of anti-Zionism and the Wesleyan Jewish community's response. You chose your letter.

Further, by framing your arguments in terms of 'Judaism,' your article clearly implied that my arguments were based on anti-Semitism (I am not alone in this interpretation). Not only does this cause me much pain, it is unfair and untrue. Let me repeat again that Judaism has nothing to do with my opinions, Zionism does. You have some valid arguments and it is not necessary to sink to such depths to put them across.

Todd Shepard

Reflections on a Protest: White Women and Racism

To the editors:

So we had a protest yesterday. Basically, it was about white male dominance... privilege to harass, to be sexist, homophobic, and yes... racist. The mostly white women's community is used to addressing the first three, is passionate in addressing the first three, and has paid lip service to the fourth. We've learned and grown to understand our oppression as women, the intensity of rape culture, and its impact on our lives. We've seen and together experienced the empowerment of bonding together and speaking out, on our own terms, against male domination and exploitation.

Yesterday, something different occurred. We had a black man protesting with us, speaking out, on his own terms, against his own oppression, and that of his brothers and sisters.

Prior to this protest, Organization Against Fraternity Harrassment and Discrimination had some meetings. This black man came to those meetings, and in his understanding and recognition of the need for women to organize on their own, volunteered to coordinate men's meetings where men could educate each other on issues such as sexism and harassment. This black man also got involved in this movement because he's seen, heard and felt racism at Wesleyan, and he's seen the way it manifests itself in many of the fraternities here at Wesleyan. He's seen black friends put four years of commitment into predominantly white fraternities, only to feel the pain of discovering they never really were considered a "brother"; black men who were so hurt by racism they experienced (however blatant or subtle) that they later abdicated themselves from them. And he knows and is close to some of the black Middletown residents who have been verbally and physically abused for merely wanting to go to a party (god forbid a 'townie' gets

in). And of course, he has had his own personal experiences that led him to speak out against racism in this context.

During our protest, we read from a long list of incidents of verbal, sexual, and homophobic harassment, as well as incidents of racism and sexism. We held signs and said, "We will no longer tolerate this." Afterwards, the protest broke down into heated debates. One in which a woman who had previously been harassed, was up against several fraternity brothers who tried to invalidate her experience. She strongly hollered and yelled her position, demanding they hear her. And we supported her, knowing what she was up against. And we identified (at least many of us) with her struggle; it was our own struggle. A moment later, the black man previously mentioned, became involved in a heated debate with the same group of fraternity brothers. They were trying to invalidate his experience, and they were telling him what he knew to be true, was not true. The black man screamed, filled with the awareness of injustices done to his people, and with the knowledge of how often white people will find another person of color to tell everyone how great race relations are.

But where were his supporters amongst the women protesters? Although there were some, many women were frustrated, thinking that the protest had "degenerated" to a squabble between men. That women's voices were being drowned out as usual. That the black man had been too threatening... too aggressive. (Of course, people were also upset because the press, who were hoping for a riot, gave them so much attention). In other words, they were thinking that this black man should respond to his oppression, in the same way they choose to respond to their own oppression. Maybe

he was too tall, or too black, to get away with screaming at other men, as the other woman had screamed. Maybe it was the amount of tension and anger in his voice, or his body posture that caused some women to deem his behavior unacceptable. But its not really strange that some people felt this way. There is a long history in this country in which oppressors tell the oppressed how they should respond to their own oppression. Yes, that's right... white women, as well as white men oppress black people. White women have and still do benefit from the oppression of black people, including black men. (It wasn't that long ago in history that white women were out in full dress with the kids to watch the lynchings. And white women have in the past and still do participate in the frame-up of black men for their own supposed rape. Not to mention the fact that while white women often feel silenced by white men in situations such as the classroom. Get some white women in a class with mostly black people, and see how easily they speak over everyone else.) Think about it.

Perhaps what I'm saying will begin to clue some folks in as to why the "mostly white women's" community has not managed to coalition with, support, or befriend so much of the "minority" communities here at Wesleyan. Woman of color are not likely to organize with white women who maintain strict definitions of how to fight oppression; how to be. It doesn't work that way.

Women need to take a stronger stance against male domination and oppression all around. But our movement would be much stronger, and truly a movement for the liberation of all people when we pay more than lip service (and a few black women lecturers) to the position that "We will no longer tolerate our own racism."

Julie Chasen

Meetings:

Hermes is always looking for new people interested in helping out with writing articles, taking photos or working on production. No previous newspaper experience is necessary, and it's not necessary to make a lengthy commitment to the group. *Hermes* meetings are held Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m. and Fridays at 5:30 p.m. in the *Hermes* office, second floor of the Housing Office, 190 High St.

Contributions:

All articles, letters to the editor, artwork, and other contributions to *Hermes* should be dropped in the box outside the *Hermes* office, or mailed to *Hermes*, c/o WSA, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT 06457. If you have questions, or would like to talk to a *Hermes* staffer about an article, feel free to call or drop by the *Hermes* office during meeting times.

Subscriptions:

A year's subscription to *Hermes* (8 to 10 issues) is \$8.00. Exchanges with other publications are welcomed. Please make checks out to *Hermes*, c/o WSA.

Deadline for the next issue of *Hermes* is Wednesday, January 25

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The Legal Rights of People With AIDS

By David Morrison

Over 74,000 Americans presently have AIDS. About ten times as many have ARC, and roughly twenty times that number are known to be infected with HIV, which is widely believed to be a major cause of AIDS. In addition to being an important social and political issue, AIDS has recently become a legal issue in its own right. Discriminatory actions by corporate America has forced AIDS into the courts, resulting in a more-clearly defined conception of the rights and responsibilities of those affected by AIDS. The legal rights of people with AIDS regarding education and employment are now fairly well delineated.

Some court victories have emerged protecting the legal rights of people with AIDS, but these rights are often difficult to access. Seeking legal recourse is always a difficult process, but especially so for people with AIDS. Going to court means hiring an attorney, getting the help of expert witnesses (who often must be paid to testify), complying with court rules and waiting months or years for a result. For many people, the hassle is too great. Further, people with AIDS face the very real possibility that they will die before their case is concluded. In some cases the seriousness of the illness has been accepted by the court as reason to expedite the hearing, though a quicker resolution is small comfort for someone dying of an agonizing illness. Ironically, the legal rights of people with AIDS may most benefit people who do not actually have AIDS or HIV but are mistakenly believed to be infected.

Most of the legal rights of people with AIDS regarding their education and employment stem from section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. Section 504 creates legal protections for handicapped people. It states, in relevant part,

No otherwise qualified handicapped individual... shall, solely by reason of his handicap, be excluded from participation, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

In 1974, the Act was amended to define a "handicapped individual" as:

[A]ny person who (i) has a physical or mental impairment which substantially limits one or more of such person's major life activities, (ii) has a record of such impairment, or (iii) is regarded as having such an impairment.

In 1987, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the definition encompassed individuals with contagious diseases. In *School Board of Nassau County v. Arline*, the Court ruled that a teacher with recurring tuberculosis qualified for protection under the federal statute. The case arose in 1979 when Gene Arline, a high school teacher with 13 years of experience, was fired after the School Board decided that her illness prevented her from teaching her classes adequately. Arline sued the Board, claiming violations under section 504. The Board responded that, while Arline clearly suffered from a "handicapping condition," she did not qualify as a "handicapped individual" under the terms of the Act, since her condition resulted from a contagious disease and not a "physical or mental impairment." The District Court agreed with the School Board, finding that it was "difficult... to conceive that Congress intended contagious diseases to be included within the definition of a handicapped person." Arline appealed, and the Appeals Court decided in her favor, stating emphatically that "persons with contagious diseases are within the coverage of section 504." The School Board then took the case to the Supreme Court. In a 7-2 decision written by Justice Brennan, the Supreme Court upheld the Appeals decision in Arline's favor.

The Court based its decision largely on the amended definition of a "handicapped individual." While the Act does not explicitly include contagious diseases in its definition, the Court, reading the legislative history of the Act, found clear Congressional intent to do so.

The amended definition reflected Congress' concern with protecting the handicapped against discrimination stemming not only from simple prejudice, but from "archaic attitudes and laws" and from "the fact that the American people are simply unfamiliar with and insensitive to the difficulties confronting [sic] individuals with handicaps... Congress expanded the definition of 'handicapped individual' so as to preclude discrimination against '[a] person who has a record of, or is regarded as having, an impairment [but who] may at present have no actual incapacity at all.'"

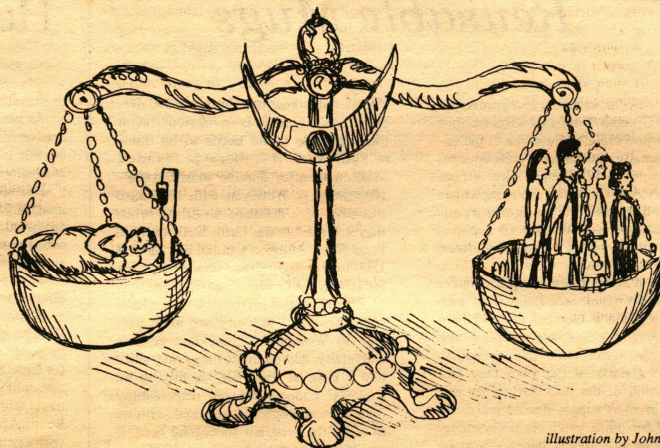


illustration by John Zaia

Also important to the Court were regulations issued under the Act by the Department of Health and Human Services. These regulations defined a "physical impairment" as:

[A]ny physiological disorder or condition, cosmetic disfigurement, or anatomical loss affecting one or more of the following body systems: neurological; musculoskeletal; special sense organs; respiratory, including speech organs; cardiovascular; reproductive; digestive; genitourinary; hemic and lymphatic; skin; and endocrine.

These regulations also defined "major life activities" as "functions such as caring for one's self, performing manual tasks, walking, seeing, hearing, speaking, breathing, learning, and working."

So, in order to claim protection under section 504, one must prove that they have, had, or are thought to have an impairment which may or may not actually incapacitate them. The Court found that tuberculosis fit that requirement. While medically different, AIDS, and even HIV infection, seem to fit the same legal description. Since AIDS always involves the blood (hemic) system, and affects the "major life activities," people with AIDS are believed to be protected by section 504. The Court, though, seemed aware of the applicability of its decision to AIDS. In a footnote many saw as directed to this possibility, the Court suggested that some contagious diseases could unfit a person for work.

A person who poses a significant risk of communicating an infectious disease to others in the workplace will not be otherwise qualified for his or her job if reasonable accommodation will not eliminate that risk.

The passage represents the Court's recognition that not all the facts are in on some diseases. The Court did not want the Rehabilitation Act to stand in the way of prudent preventative steps. At the same time, the Court left the door open for protection for people with AIDS if AIDS did not present too-large a threat of contagion.

One of the earliest media-reported responses to AIDS was the decision by some school boards to exclude children with AIDS from classes. Many school districts, bowing to the fears of parents' groups and lacking adequate information, forced students with AIDS into special "homebound" instruction programs, denying the students admission to regular classes. These school board decisions provided the first tests for AIDS under section 504. Several recent federal court decisions confirm the illegality of such exclusion.

One typical case is *Thomas v. Atascadero Unified School District*. Ryan Thomas, a 5-year-old child, was diagnosed with AIDS in early 1985. In May, 1986, his local School Board adopted policy on "communicable diseases," which included guidelines for AIDS based in part on a report from the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). The School Board's Placement Committee decided in August, 1986, that Ryan should be allowed to attend kindergarten, since he posed little risk to teachers and other students. On September 8, less than one week after school started, Ryan was involved in a fight with another student, and tried to bite that other student's pant leg. He was sent home with instructions for his parents to keep him there until the Placement Committee could decide "whether or not Ryan's potential for again biting another

student poses any danger to the health of others in the class." When, on October 2, the Placement Committee decided to place Ryan in a "home tutoring" program, Ryan's parents decided to sue.

In the *Thomas* case, the U.S. District Court tried to balance individual rights and the rights of the rest of the people in the school. The Court decided that "the School District acted cautiously and reasonably in attempting to balance all of the interests involved and to address the fear of AIDS which exists in the Atascadero community." Nonetheless, "Ryan Thomas is a 'handicapped person' within the meaning of section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973." The Court ruled that the School District could not expel Ryan Thomas solely because he had AIDS.

The School District's decision to expel Ryan was based in part on recommendations from the CDC. Issued in August, 1985, these recommendations reflected the fear and mystery that surrounded AIDS at even the most well-intentioned levels of government at that time. The CDC suggested:

For the infected preschool-aged child and for some neurologically handicapped children who lack control over their body secretions or who display behavior, such as biting, and those children who have uncurable, oozing lesions, a more restricted environment is advisable until more is known about transmission in these settings.

The CDC intended this separation for the protection of uninfected teachers and children. Unwittingly, its own guidelines called for measures that, by definition, violated section 504.

The *Thomas* case points out one of the key problems of AIDS litigation. AIDS is so new, and our understanding of and responses to AIDS are so recent, that the case history is easily and quickly outdated. Given the CDC recommendations written in August, 1985, the court found that the School Board had acted "reasonably." By the time the case was decided less than two years later, the court found that there was "no medical evidence to prove that the AIDS virus [sic] can be transmitted by human bites." While the CDC had urged caution, the court later found that the caution was unnecessary, and illegal under section 504.

Not all courts understand AIDS as well as the court in *Thomas*. An appalling ignorance still rules the day in some courts, and plaintiffs with AIDS need to know that they have a heavy burden of proving to the court such basics as how HIV is transmitted, how AIDS is not transmitted, what behaviors put someone at risk, and what activities are completely safe. In at least one divorce case, *Stewart v. Stewart* in Indiana, the judge ruled that an HIV-positive father could not have partial custody of his daughter since, "even if there's a one percent chance that [this child is going to contract [AIDS] from [the father], I'm not going to expose her to it." Courts need to be educated as to the real risks of HIV transmission involved.

Employment law presents an entirely different situation. While every child has a right to a public education, adults are not guaranteed a job. Many private employers do not receive federal funding, which carries the strings that make section 504 apply. Courts are reluctant to limit the right of employers to choose who to hire. Moreover,

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LONGER THAN SHORT

Marriott Stocks Reusable Mugs

The main focus of the Environmental Interest Group's work this semester has been on providing alternatives to the environmentally destructive styrofoam containers sold at the Campus Center fast-food services. Over half the campus has supported these efforts by signing a petition against styrofoam and its replacement with paper products circulated earlier this semester.

Marriott Corporation's representative at Wesleyan, Hank Strashnick, met with several students in October and told them that although his company had planned a switch from styrofoam to paper products at the beginning of the year, they had found some of the necessary sizes and shapes in short supply due to increased demand for paper products everywhere. He said he hoped that paper would be used exclusively next semester.

EIG members are concerned with the overflowing landfills and unacceptable levels of waste generated in the Campus Center. Middletown's dump will be

closed out sometime during 1990. Because the situation is so serious, even biodegradable waste needs to be minimized. EIG members persuaded Marriott to offer durable plastic travel-type mugs at Wesleyan with the added incentive of a discount on drinks when they are used at the Grill, Deli, or Wild Pizza Shop. Marriott's initial purchase of 1500 twelve and twenty ounce mugs are for sale in the Grill for just 75 cents.

Experiments with reusable mugs have been successful at Evergreen State College in Washington State and at Yale University. Although the mugs may seem like a drag at first, EIG is relying on students' cooperation and responsibility for a more ecologically sustainable future to make the program successful here. If you have any questions about this issue, please come to a meeting of EIG held Mondays at 9 pm on the 3rd floor of the Campus Center.

—Heather Staines



NY Protest and Vigil Held on Human Rights Day

As part of the international commemoration of Human Rights Day on December 9th, two events were held in midtown Manhattan in New York City.

Despite bitterly cold weather, approximately 200 people attended a 2½-hour protest at the headquarters of Mobil Corporation at 150 E.42nd St. Anti-apartheid activists have criticized Mobil for continuing to supply oil to South Africa's government.

Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins spoke to the crowd about recently proposed selective contracting legislation for New York City. If passed, this legislation will bar the city from having contracts with companies that do business in South Africa. Besides barring contracts with companies with direct investments, the bill will also impose restrictions upon the city contracting with companies that have indirect investments and will also be restricted from buying from direct and indirect investors even through third parties. This comprehensive legislation will effectively restrict city contracts with companies that enact "phony pullouts" by selling their South African operations but maintaining licensing or franchising

agreements.

On the advice of Dinkins, the city's Board of Estimate (which oversees city spending) passed a resolution telling the City Council to pass this comprehensive legislation.

Other speakers included Rob Jones of the American Committee on Africa and the singer Odetta, who performed one song accompanied by all those gathered at the protest. The International Declaration of Human Rights was read aloud to the crowd. An interfaith service was held in the name of those suffering under South Africa's apartheid laws.

At the height of the protest, police arrested over 20 activists who blocked the entrance to the building. While the police made arrests, bystanders chanted such slogans as "Mobil, Mobil, you're so cruel/You provide apartheid's fuel."

Later that day, a vigil was held outside the Israeli Mission to protest Israeli human rights violations in Palestine. The vigil resulted in a march that ended at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. The event was sponsored by the Palestine Solidarity Committee.

—Eileen Mullin

Cindy Patton Explores the 'Impossibility of Heterosexuality'

By Heather Rhoads

Long-time lesbian activist Cindy Patton spoke at Wesleyan November 30 on "Orgasm and Hegemony: the Impossibility of Heterosexuality" to a crowd of approximately 150 at 58 Science Center.

Author of *Sex & Gerns*, a book on the politics of the AIDS emergency, Patton has also served on the Board of Directors of the Fenway Community Health Center in Boston, on the Steering Committee of the AIDS Action Committee in Boston and as an editor of *Gay Community News*.

Patton began explaining her theory by stating, "Home videos provide a rich and diverse market for pornography marketed to and semiotically coded for specific audiences. . . Although the film titles and the photos on the box covers clearly suggest the gender and sexual orientation of the presumed viewer—male, female, gay, straight—the videos themselves blur homo and hetero eroticism."

She discussed the sub-genre of this new 'het' pornography and gave evidence that "the available cinematic strategies for constructing a male and a female sexual narrative make heterosexuality unstable if not impossible in these videos."

Three areas of film and sexuality theory were examined: the female spectator, the cinematic construction of sexual pleasure, and the cultural states of orgasm.

Patton explained the difficulty in developing a female perspective in a het scene. Since the subject of the gaze is male and the object is female, "women cinemagoers are not in fact totally included in film watching but must perform a sort of gymnastics or perhaps an act of transvestism in order to position themselves as spectators," she said.

Because mass-market pornographers attempted to come up with a way to make videos that would appeal to

heterosexual couples, they needed to find a way to appeal to female viewers, Patton said. But she questioned whether the erotic fantasies that structured traditional male pornography could be reworked to be shown in front of women so as not to embarrass the men; whether it was possible to represent heterosexuality within a single frame.

"The camera angles used in a cum shot generally locate the viewer in the position of the man who is coming," Patton said. "By the time of the cum shot, the viewer is caught in the position cinematically as the person who owns this penis that is coming. Being constructed as the owner of a penis produces a curious sensation of transgression for the female viewer."

This at least partly accounts for why gay male pornography is popular with many lesbian and straight feminists, Patton commented. "We get to be on the representational 'top' position without dealing with the uneasy power dynamics cathected by the representational hetero eroticism," she explained.

"Our complaint with pornography, then, is not so much that we're being enticed cinematically into the male position, but that socially we object to the alienating and abusive representation of women in much of the classic pornography," she said.

Patton asserted that even though the status of women in pornography can be easily changed, the depiction of female pleasure for the female spectator is cinematographically difficult.

"Female sexual pleasure continues to be depicted through a set of very stereotypical facial expressions: the transcendent glaze of the eyes, the lips glistening, slightly parted, and the head thrown back," she said. "Male orgasm is *cinema verité*; extending it requires repetition of an entire narrative sequence of stimulation, erection and ejaculation."

She argued that gender-specific cinematic depictions of orgasm are incoherently dissimilar: for men the camera movement goes from full-body to genitals, whereas for women the camera focuses on genitals to full-body to facial expressions.

One option she suggested for solving the problem of the unequal systems of punctuation of male and female sexual pleasure was to depict female orgasms for the female spectators through masturbating women. She noted that unless this is shot at the woman's eyeline, it is cinematically too easily shot from the view of the male spectator.

"The only remaining option is lesbian sex, and this indeed is what has happened to the new videos," she said.

After her speech, Patton showed clips from *Pumping Irene: The Woman*, a recent porn film targeted for 'het' couples. She showed a scene from the same movie depicting two women coded as heterosexual having lesbian sex in the typical context of one teaching the other how to achieve pleasure. According to Patton, it is significant that the lesbian narratives in the new het porn are complete unto themselves and without the introduction of male voyeurs, as was the case in traditional pornography.

"At this point, based on the existing cinematic codes, you cannot have a woman having an orgasm in the same frame with a man and expect the orgasm to look, to a woman, like it's a real orgasm," she said. "That's cinematically impossible."

Patton was asked if because heterosexuality can't be represented, whether she thought this fact had implications for its existence at all.

"We have constructed a sort of hegemonic notion of heterosexuality," she said. "If homosexuality is so impossible to define it seems clear that heterosexuality must not be clearly defined. There's got to be fluidity on both sides."▽

Watts on Racism at Wesleyan

By Tara McGann

Professor Watts gave a talk about racism at Wesleyan and the hypocrisy of being politically correct, on Thursday, December 8, to a packed audience in 001 PAC. Watts directed his talk at what he called "notions of racial parochialism".

He began by reading from an article from the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, about an academic conference at U.C. Berkeley sponsored by their Political Science Department. The Department spoke of the need to reclaim "the academy" from, as Watts put it, "leftist barbarians." "One of the paradoxes of American racial discourse," Watts noted, "was that it was very apparent that one of the demons being exorcised at the meeting was affirmative action." The Department urged this exorcism for two reasons: one, because they felt affirmative action had lowered academic standards, and two, because they felt that quotas are fundamentally wrong. While he was at U.C. Davis, Watts said, that school was under court order to add more blacks to its faculty, because less than 2% of its faculty was black. The Berkeley conference was being given by the Berkeley Political Science Department, which had never hired a black professor. Watts said that schools report that they can't find qualified Blacks to hire, and when they do hire blacks, they must lower their standards to do so.

Watts spoke about his education in Washington, D.C., and his experience when applying to colleges, in 1971. He went to visit colleges that had accepted him, and when he came to Wesleyan he viewed it as being "heavily racially polarized." He decided not to go to Wesleyan because he found it "too circumscribed in race." He found Amherst racially polarized as well, and went to Harvard, because of its size and anonymity, which he thought would be more conducive to intellectual diversity. "But nevertheless, three months later after being at Harvard College, I found

myself sitting at black tables, living a fairly racially circumscribed social existence." Watts added, "and I went to Harvard precisely because I thought it would be large enough not to function like that. And it is, if you want it to, but somehow I gravitated to that [separation]." Watts said that he wanted to address the reasons behind this situation in his talk at Wesleyan.

While Watts said there is no crime in black students and white students eating at separate tables, he was concerned about racially circumscribed lives on campus, among both students and faculty. And he said that one of the critical issues in creating this environment on campuses like Wesleyan has to do with the intellectual culture of elite institutions. By intellectual culture, he said he was thinking in terms of how black people have two roles: not only as a real person in the empirical world, but also how the identity of that person is socially determined by the ideas prevailing in that culture at a given time. To illustrate this idea, Watts discussed the differences in meaning between being black in the 1880's and being black in the 1980's; a difference which he compared with the changed cultural notions about women.

Political struggle, Watts said, is not just to increase material possibilities but also to better status within cultural discourse, "because they are intricately linked... oppression and emancipation occur at both levels." Watts said that this type of analysis, and the division between the cultural and material, is helpful to understand, for example, the precarious position of Jews in a predominately Gentile culture; regardless of Jews economic status, the circumscribed ideas of human possibilities that lie in an idea of Jews as being other than ideal affect the social status of Jews.

Watts spoke of his interest at Harvard in good grades, so as to get into a good law school, and ensure upward

mobility, but that he "wasn't interested in the ideas that gave me these good grades." He said Harvard was dislocating "at the point where it intellectually touched me, and made me think in terms of possibilities for life that weren't linked to material acquisition." And while, Watts said, most white students weren't interested in intellectual pursuits either, "this intellectual aspect of Harvard was fundamentally alien to most of the minorities at Harvard. This type of utilitarian understanding of education, that one went to college in order to economically advance, is understandable in the American context. And yet, it didn't allow me a certain engagement with my environment. A lot of things that were there intellectually, had nothing to do with getting good grades."

But these things, Watts noted, are part of the "cultural baggage" of racial parochialism. "When I think of myself as a certain type of oppressed subject in this society, I think in terms of certain types of cultural baggage that I had to carry with me and discard in order to make this leap. It was a very disconcerting leap. When I think about racial parochialism and this cultural/material difference, and understanding the position of black students, in a campus like Wesleyan, some of this is the way in which blacks are culturally reproduced, vis a vis understanding of education, given the marginal economic plight of blacks in this society." This leads, Watts said, to a kind of opting out of the university at large, which is the result of the long term effects of racism and the denial of opportunities. But, he said, there are no mechanisms in an institution like Wesleyan that would allow us to begin to examine why certain behavior does or does not manifest itself on the campus at large, nor is there a means to discuss long term strategies to address this.

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Hermes Interview with President Chace: Wesleyan's Deep Tribal Culture

By Tara McGann

Hermes: You met with the WSA late last month to speak about reevaluation of the curriculum. . .

Chace: And a million other things.

Hermes: Now you say you aren't talking about a core curriculum; I was unclear about what exactly you were talking about—what are you interested in implementing?
Chace: First of all, anything I could say now would be somewhat premature, and that's also what I told the WSA. I am interested in seeing if there is any possibility of a common vocabulary. By which I mean something that the students and the faculty share by way of certain references, allusions, experiences they have gone through together thus to provide a kind of foundation so that other discussions later on can always depend on that foundation.

I don't mean a standardized curriculum, I don't mean a Western Culture course, I don't mean a freshman English course. What do I mean, I don't know yet. That's why I want to talk with faculty people and I want to talk with students to see what's going on with respect to the curriculum. The last time this was done was in the early 80's; it didn't result in a successful report. . . it was never acted upon. I'm interested also in looking at it from the other end; [to see] if there is, as I think there might be, a sense of fragmentation or incoherence, or kind of a jumbled sense, which is different from saying 'I haven't figured everything out,' because I don't think people should be able to figure everything out by their senior year.

I'm worried, though, about misdirection and not putting good course sequences together and not capitalizing on experiences so that it comes back and builds to something, so that you feel 'I really know this,' or 'this finally is beginning to make sense for me.' That's all I mean now, and I haven't been able to talk to any group in an official way about the curriculum; there is no curriculum committee. . .

Hermes: It sounds like what you are talking about is what the faculty advisors provide for students. Are you going to be looking at the function of the faculty advisors?

Chace: Yes, and I think it might be more correct to say what the advising system is supposed to do. Because

certainly almost everyone, students and advisers, I've talked to about it is disappointed with the advising system. It's interesting to me that when this subject arises, so many people turn to the advising system as an answer, which suggests that contrary to some theories that students themselves know best, students do have a sense that there might be more adequate guidance and counseling and support, and they are somewhat disappointed that the advising system isn't as strong as they believe it should be.

Hermes: You spoke about, I'm quoting from the *Argus* (November 22 "Chace Discusses Reevaluation of Curriculum with Student Assembly"), "several other universities and their successes with a more defined

curriculum." Is there any university that you could point to that has a program you would want to emulate?

Chace: No. That's because I'm very aware that all these institutions have their own history, their own organic sense of themselves. It probably never works to superimpose one system on another; it's like organ transplant rejection, it just doesn't take. So you have to work with what you have and where you are, and then see if the community is happy with what it has, to see if the community wants to do something different. I know a lot about Stanford's system and I wouldn't transpose Stanford's system or Berkeley's.

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Anti-Zionism and the Israeli Lobby

By Todd Shepard

During the past year, with the continuing story of the *intifada*, it has finally become possible for Americans to openly support the Palestinian position and to oppose Israel. This is a great change from when such talk was met with charges of supporting terrorism or worse, anti-Semitism (and its corollary, the self-hating Jew). This was in addition to having to prove false all the ludicrous myths thought up by Israeli propaganda long discredited within Israel itself (example: the Palestinians don't really exist).

Thanks to the *intifada*, the American dialogue on the Israeli-Palestinian problem is experiencing a fresh breath of glasnost. Increasing numbers of American Jews are listening to their Israeli counterparts and beginning to criticize various Israeli policies. Outside of such institutions as Americans for a Safe Israel and the *New Republic*, criticism of Israel is no longer automatically labeled anti-Semitic.

While these changes are greatly welcomed, there still remain certain taboos. The pro-Israel lobby's most powerful weapon, the charge of anti-Semitism, can and is still brought to bear in certain instances. The most obvious is the opposition to Zionism (as opposed to opposition to specific Israeli policies).

Whenever the *New York Times* wants to show how ludicrous it thinks the United Nations is, it brings up the 1977 resolution condemning Zionism as racist. It does so with no explanation of why the resolution was passed or

the arguments for and against. The clear implication is that the vote was based on anti-Semitism. There do exist, however, many reasons to consider Zionism racist.

Zionism sought and obtained the creation of a Jewish state. Israel is the only country in the world that is officially a state of and for a specific racial or religious group and not its citizens. This in spite of the fact that its population contains hundreds of thousands of Arabs (Moslem, Christian, Druze, etc.) and other races, who are officially designated "non-Jews." The clearest example that Israel is a state of and for Jews is the Law of Return (about which there has been much debate recently). The Law of Return's premise is that any Jew can become an Israeli citizen upon entering Israel and declaring their desire to do so. Thus people who have never seen Israel as well as those whose ancestors have never set foot in Israel (converts to Judaism) can instantly become citizens, and settle in Israel.

No non-Jew can become a citizen of Israel. In spite of the fact that he or she may have been born in Jaffa or Haifa, no Palestinian Arab who is not already an Israeli citizen can become one, unless they convert to Judaism. And only those Palestinian Arabs who could prove they were in their permanent place of residence the day of the first Israeli census in 1948 (right after the war, with its thousands of refugees) or their descendants were allowed to be citizens.

For further proof of the racism inherent in Zionism,

one only has to look at the political dialogue in Israel surrounding the "demographic problem." This refers to Israeli citizens of Arab descent. The "problem" is that according to projections, they will become the majority within a few decades. The possible solutions: either the "transfer" of all Palestinians out of Israel, the transformation into an apartheid-like state, or the end of Israel. Why these options? Because according to Zionism, Israel must remain a Jewish state, and to do so political power must always remain in the hands of Israel's Jewish population.

Put in the words "French" and "France" in the place of "Jewish" and "Israel" and much of this sounds quite similar to the racist, anti-Semitic French National Front party of Jean-Marie Le Pen. Of course there are reasons found in the enormous historical suffering of the Jewish people which make such an ideology more understandable. But in Israel the Jews are not the oppressed. The Israelis are sometimes the oppressors. And whatever the reasons, there is much about Zionism that could lead anyone to consider it as racist, and there are many people who do. People like Noam Chomsky, an avowed anti-Zionist who has been repeatedly characterized as a "self-hating Jew" by pro-Zionist groups. Or Alice Walker, author of *"The Color Purple"* who for signing a letter supporting the establishment of a democratic secular Palestine, with equal rights for all, Jews and Arabs, was

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AIDS

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while an employee may be protected for having AIDS or for testing positive for HIV, the means of transmission may not be legally safeguarded, and may, in fact, be grounds for termination. Various federal statutes, including the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prevent employers from basing employment decisions on certain characteristics. These include race, sex, religion, national origin and handicap status. They do not include sexual orientation or drug use. While an employer may be unable to fire an employee for being HIV-positive, employers may fire employees for being gay, or for using IV drugs (particularly if the employee is not addicted, since drug addiction may qualify as a handicap). While HIV status may be, technically speaking, protected, the unprotected means of transmission present some obvious problems.

The position of the Justice Department on HIV status and employment decisions bears mentioning at this time. On June 23, 1986, Assistant Attorney General Charles J. Cooper issued an Opinion stating that, while employers could not fire an HIV-positive worker solely because that worker was handicapped, the employer could fire the worker for fear of contagion. The Rehabilitation Act, the Department argued, prevents a company from taking discriminatory actions against its workers, but it "does not restrict measures taken to prevent the spread of disease."

The Opinion was heavily criticized in many circles. Assistant Secretary Robert E. Windom of the Department of Health and Human Services noted flatly that "the AIDS virus is not transmitted by casual contact in the workplace or schools." The National Gay Rights Advocates' AIDS Civil Rights Project reported that no states indicated that they would follow the Justice Department's Opinion. Court decisions issued since then have also held that the odds of transmitting AIDS in the workplace are indeed very slim. The Justice Department Opinion, which must be argued by all federal attorneys, seems to have had little impact on court decisions, though its impact on the debate over handling AIDS in the workplace should not be underestimated.

Twenty-one states, including California, Michigan, Minnesota and Texas, have officially added AIDS as a qualification for their own handicap protection laws. These state and local laws tend to be fairly specific and provide greater protection than the federal statutes. For example, a city ordinance in Austin, Texas, prohibits AIDS-based discrimination in employment decisions by trade unions, employment agencies, and all companies that employ more than sixteen workers, whether or not they receive public money. But outside of these areas, the federal laws are a worker's only redress.

And yet these federal laws are severely limited in applicability. Only those corporations that receive federal money, such as school districts, hospitals, defense contractors, and state and local agencies, must comply. Em-

ployees working for companies not covered by local, state or federal statutes are at the mercy of their employer's own employment guidelines, and the terms of their contract with the company. A number of companies, including Northwest Pacific Bell and U.S. West, have developed internal programs that provide for the needs of the needs of their employees with AIDS. Generally, it is in the company's best interest to treat people with AIDS fairly, both to maintain the companies' public image and to satisfy their own workers. But there is no guarantee that a company will choose to act responsibly, and as insurance becomes more expensive for people with AIDS, companies may feel compelled to discriminate against their employees with AIDS.

Where federal statutes apply, section 504 again provides protection for workers with AIDS. A good example is *Chalk v. U.S. District Court*. Vincent Chalk, a teacher with six years experience, was hospitalized in February, 1987, with Pneumocystis Carinii Pneumonia and was later diagnosed as having AIDS. In April, 1987, Chalk's personal physician, Dr. Siskind, found him fit for duty in the classroom and released him from the hospital. The School Board, however, put him on administrative leave, pending a review by their own physician, Dr. Pendegast.

On May 22, Dr. Pendegast certified that Chalk posed no threat to "his students or others in the school." Nonetheless, the Board decided to offer Chalk a transfer to a non-teaching position, and threatened him with legal action if he refused. Chalk brought a suit of his own, claiming discrimination under section 504, and asked for a court order to reinstate him to his teaching post. The District Court denied his motion for an order to reinstate. Chalk then sued the District Court, claiming it had incorrectly denied his motion for reinstatement. The Appeals Court agreed with Chalk, and order that he be given his old classroom job back. As in the *Thomas* case, the court based its finding on the Supreme Court's *Arline* decision, coupled with more recent medical information. *Arline* stated that a worker with a contagious disease could present a serious enough threat to other, uninfected workers that prudent steps to prevent the spread of the disease would require that the worker not be allowed to return to work. It was on these grounds that the Board sought to prevent Chalk from resuming his teaching duties. The court found no reason to fear classroom transmission of AIDS, and quoted Surgeon General Koop as writing, "[t]here is no known risk of non-sexual infection in most of the situation we encounter in our daily lives," as well as a report from the American Medical Association, which stated:

[t]here is no evidence in the relevant medical literature that demonstrates any appreciable risk of transmitting the AIDS virus [sic] under the circumstances likely to occur in the ordinary school setting.

Chalk was thus entitled to reinstatement.

In one interesting state court decision, the Fourth District Court of Appeals in Indiana ruled that a company acted properly to fire a worker who refused to work with blood that was potentially contaminated with HIV. In *Stapp v. Review Board of Indiana*, the court found the risk of HIV infection from handling vials of blood to be insignificant, provided that existing safety precautions were used. Dorothy Stepp, a lab technician, refused to conduct tests on any blood samples labeled with an HIV warning, in part because she perceived a personal health hazard. She also claimed that "AIDS is God's plague on man and performing the tests would go against God's will." She was fired for this refusal, and sued, claiming that she was protected under federal "whistle-blower" statutes which prevent companies from firing employees for alerting federal authorities to unsafe working conditions. The court found insufficient proof that an unsafe condition in fact existed, and upheld the company's decision to fire Stepp.

This case suggests that, when a company is confronted with an untested employee who refuses to work with someone who is thought to be HIV-positive, the proper solution, if no other agreement can be reached, is to fire the complaining employee. This proposition seems to run directly counter to the Justice Department Opinion. The notion that the proper employee to fire is the complaining, untested employee is untested in court, but it may be worth arguing, should a company faced with that predicament decide to fire the employee who is thought to be HIV-positive.

Overall, federal courts have acted admirably and impartially in the determination of the rights of people with AIDS and the responsibility of others to accept people with AIDS. State courts may need improvement. In the absence of congressional action on the AIDS issue, federal courts have done well to apply existing laws to this new health concern. Through federal, state, and local governments, our society needs to reevaluate its role in the provision of care and services for people with AIDS, and to increase funding, respectability and honesty in almost every area affected by AIDS.

But our society may soon be forced to reevaluate its role in the AIDS crisis. AIDS, and to a lesser extent ARC, almost always ends in premature death, and often requires expensive medical treatment. As death rates and costs rise, AIDS can be expected to demonstrate the inadequacy of our existing health care systems, and at that point courts may be unable to secure the rights of all people with AIDS. At that point inaction will no longer be a viable option, and society will have to choose between reforming its institutions to care for people with AIDS, or adopting abandonment as its routine solution. People concerned about people with AIDS need to work now to ensure that society makes the right decision in the future. V

One-Year Anniversary of Palestinian Uprising

By Tara McGann

The *intifada* that started as a spontaneous uprising of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza areas last December, and so is in its second year, has had a profound impact, obviously on Palestinians and Israelis and internationally. The uprising was undoubtedly the single most important factor in bringing about the PNC meeting in Algiers and the subsequent declaration of independence. It has brought about a renaissance of Palestinian self-confidence and is an international symbol of national resistance and courage. The *intifada* has sharpened positions of opposition to Israeli repression both within Israel and throughout the world.

The uprising began in the Jabalyia refugee camp in the Gaza strip on December 9, 1987. The night before, four Jabalyia residents were killed and several wounded when an army tank crushed several cars carrying Gaza laborers returning from jobs in Israel. Palestinians charged it was done in retaliation for the murder of an Israeli in Gaza a day earlier. Within days the unrest spread throughout Gaza, into the West Bank and within weeks, beyond the green line. The green line is the 1967 demarcation separating Israel from the occupied territories.

"One can now speak about pre-*intifada*... and post-*intifada* thinking, perceptions, and behavior," according to Jonathan Kuttab in the *Journal of Palestine Studies* (summer 1988). The *intifada* has created a spirit of resistance that the repressive response cannot crush. And it is for this reason that the *intifada* has persisted, and shows no sign of abatement, short of an end to the occupation. The uprising seems to have shattered fear and cemented a feeling of solidarity amongst Palestinians that goes across religious and political differences. Men and women, youths, children, adults and the elderly have been involved in the uprising, and all have been subjected to casualties.

The main forms the uprising has taken are stone throwing, setting up barricades, burning tires and cars, and mass strikes and store closings. But more important to

the duration and success of the uprising is the irrevocable shift in Palestinian perceptions of the occupation, and their resolution to end it. The apparent lack of fear and determination is what the Israeli response has tried to counter. Yitzak Shamir said in the spring of this year that soldiers must, "re-create the barrier of fear and once again put the fear of death (into Palestinians)".

The Israeli government has responded, with tactics designed to reassert dominance and re-instill fear such as house arrests, indiscriminate beatings, wide use of rubber bullets, bulldozing of houses, mass detentions without charge, and prison camps—amongst others. The May-June 1988 issue of *Middle East Report* described a new weapon introduced in March of this year: the catapult. "[T]he machine is composed of a large rock basket and a revolving turret which can spit hundreds of medium-sized stones with high velocity at troublemakers." These attempts to control, immobilize and terrify the Palestinian population into submission have clearly failed.

The Israeli government has continually made remarks that the uprising was slackening, or would soon be; and Rabin, the Defense Minister has sanctimoniously reiterated that the uprising would gain the Palestinians nothing. But the uprising has posed a significant problem to the Israeli government. It has created a lot of sympathy for Palestinians, and has scuttled the myth of Israel as an embattled nation. Henry Kissinger suggested in March that "The insurrection must be quelled immediately, and the first step should be to throw out television, à la South Africa." (*The New York Times*). The *intifada* was front page news for the first few months, but the ban on the media helped to relegate news on the uprising to back pages.

As Edward Said said in his talk at Wesleyan in November: The *intifada* has changed everything. V

December 9, 1987 - December 6, 1988

Intifada statistics

A representative of the Palestine Solidarity Committee told *Hermes* that approximately 1 in 80 of the entire population of the occupied areas is currently in jail, and that in every family at least one family member has been arrested.

Palestinians killed (total)	428
killed by gunfire (lead and plastic).....	286
stoned, beaten, burnt to death.....	37
tear gas-related deaths.....	66
death occurred under suspicious circumstances.....	39
Palestinian women killed	55
killed by gunfire (lead and plastic).....	20
stoned, beaten, burnt to death.....	3
tear gas-related deaths.....	26
death occurred under suspicious circumstances.....	6
Palestinian children under 16 killed	86
killed by gunfire (lead and plastic).....	50
stoned, beaten, burnt to death.....	2
tear gas-related deaths.....	31
death occurred under suspicious circumstances.....	4
Palestinians injured	46,000
injured by gunfire (lead and plastic).....	7,000
Arrests (most without charge)	30,000
women arrested.....	1,000
detentions (most without charge).....	6,000
administrative detentions	
(6 month detention without trial).....	5,000
women held in administrative detention.....	14
currently held in administrative detention.....	1,500
political prisoners	
before the <i>intifada</i>	4,000
detention camps set up during 1988.....	4
expulsion orders.....	60
expelled.....	33
waiting expulsion.....	26
expulsion cancelled (changed to administrative detention).....	1
Houses demolished or sealed	over 552
demolished for 'security reasons'.....	134
sealed for 'security reasons'.....	27
demolished for being unlicensed.....	353
sealed for being unlicensed.....	5
no reasons given.....	13
rendered uninhabitable.....	20
Curfew days documented	2,000
(broken down by days in different localities)	
100,000 trees uprooted	
Hundreds of dunams (land measurement) uprooted	

—Data Base Project on Palestinian Human Rights
220 S. State Street, Suite 1308, Chicago, IL 60604

PLO

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enough," that the PLO must somehow "back up" its new initiative with actions (as if the Algiers meeting was not an action).

The U.S. attempt to obfuscate the significance of the PNC declaration has been at least partially successful; much of the mainstream media in this country has insisted on focusing on the perceived shortcomings of the declaration. In other words, the media has generally accepted the notion advanced by the State Departments that the PNC's actions was "not enough." We see the PLO's motives constantly questioned ("can we trust them?"), while at the same time the U.S. and Israeli positions are generally assumed to be rooted in legitimate concerns and are accepted at face value.

For example, on a recent ABC News program, conservative columnist George Will was one of three journalists confronted with PNC member Edward Said, who strongly affirmed the Palestinian commitment to a peaceful, two-state solution, and Israeli Knesset member Ehud Olmert, who completely rejected the new PNC position, rejected even the concept of a Palestinian state, and rejected any negotiations with the PLO. Given the change to question Olmert's intransigent position, Will instead asked Dr. Said why anyone should believe that the PNC declaration was not simply a new tactic for destroying Israel. As Israeli writer Meron Benvenisti noted so succinctly in a recent *Wesleyan* appearance, such fears are simply not rooted in reality. "We (Israel) have atomic weapons," he observed. "Everything else is paranoia."

Another tactic which has been used often to try to discredit the legitimacy of the Algiers declaration is to point out divisions within the ranks of the Palestinian leadership. Many news reports have implied that, because some PNC members didn't support the declaration it was somehow not valid and not to be trusted. It is a measure of the desperation of Palestinian critics that they must use such ludicrous arguments; after all, to do so is to question

the very nature of democratic decisionmaking. The PNC operated its meeting on the basis of majority rule, and though delegates such as George Habash, the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), expressed objections to parts of the declaration, they pledged to abide by the majority opinion.

Despite attempts to play up the discontent of Islamic fundamentalists in the Occupied Territories, the PNC meeting has left the Palestinians more unified than perhaps ever before. Like any political organization, the PLO has to deal with internal problems, but the presence of healthy debate should not obscure the significance of the PNC's democratic character, nor the fact that the declaration was approved by a large majority. As Edward Said notes in a recent article for *The Nation* (December 12), George Habash stated "without hesitation that he and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine wish to remain in the PLO no matter what the outcome of the disagreements."

Clearly Palestinian leaders feel that the democratic operation of the PNC is a model for how the state of Palestine will operate if it is allowed to exist free of Israeli occupation. The declaration was proposed, debated, amended and passed by a large majority. The Declaration of Independence makes this abundantly clear, stating that the system of government will be a parliamentary democracy based on the freedom to form parties. The declaration continues, "The rights of minorities will duly be respected by the majority, as minorities must abide by decisions of the majority. Governance will be based on principles of social justice, equality and non-discrimination in public rights of men or women, on grounds of race, religion, color or sex, under the aegis of a constitution which ensures the rule of law and an independent judiciary." Thus, while Israel may prefer to see the Palestinians as simply "another undemocratic Arab society bent on destroying Israel", it is clear that the PNC has made a radical step forward, by proposing a just solution, based on equal rights of self-determination for both peoples and setting forth the framework of a democratic Palestinian

state.

On the international level, the new state of Palestine has already garnered the recognition of some 40 nations, as well as positive responses from the Soviet Union, Great Britain and other European countries. There is no question that Arafat's stature has been enhanced by what he termed the "moderation, flexibility and realism" shown in the PNC declaration (though Arafat has long been viewed as a hero by many of the so called "Non-Aligned" nations). Nevertheless, Secretary of State George Schultz decided to oppose virtually the entire world and deny Arafat a visa to come and speak at the UN. A subsequent resolution condemning the American move passed 151 to 2, with only Israel supporting the U.S., dispelling any doubts as to Israel's position of isolation in the world. The U.S. opposition has also done something which is generally considered impossible: it gave almost the entire Arab World something to unify behind. Whether this unity can be maintained in support of Arafat remains to be seen.

Despite the outpouring of international support for the PNC declaration, of course, the Palestinians have still failed to convince the two governments which matter most. This failure is hardly surprising, though unfortunately no resolution will come until the U.S. government agrees to negotiate with the PLO. They are succeeding in demonstrating the justice of their cause to the American people, as well as internationally. The emphasis placed by the U.S. government and media on the shortcomings of the document is designed to divert attention from the massive concessions the Palestinians have made while receiving nothing in return. It is also designed to obscure what is the unmistakable message, the spirit, of the Algiers declaration: that the Palestinians have firmly committed themselves to the only viable solution to the conflict—a two-state solution which embodies the ideals of mutual recognition and co-existence. This clearly demonstrates their desire for a just peace; that Shamir has made no gesture in return demonstrates his desire to maintain the status quo of occupation, brutal repression, and denial of Palestinian nationalism. V

Work-a-day

By Mxolisi Malunga

The alarm clock has rung. In the dark, his hand searches the clock's face. The hand lands on a chair beside the bed. Two or three more inches across that flat surface, and he will pin the hammer-like knob behind the clock. It's five o'clock, and he is up.

At six o'clock he must be at the workplace. Three weeks ago he would have spent the next hour in bed. But since summer set in, the bakery owner rescheduled his starting time. Staring at the cardboard ceiling and bracing his chest with the pillow, he yawns a discernible musical eight bars. He reflects on what he has to do before leaving his cabin. Change his underpants. He was going on the fourth day in the same pair. Then he will need a cup of coffee, or in case he has run out of it, just hot water sweetened with sugar. He will also have to make his bed. Getting into a well-made bed after a long day at work feels good. There is also the possibility of getting back into that bed with somebody else, like a woman friend. For some men, this is always a certainty. Just how they do it, he cannot know... *cannot know... know... cannot*; his mind must be drifting back into sleep, and he becomes acutely aware of the passage of time.

Throwing the pillow aside and jumping onto the cement floor, he stretches his frame and lets out another yawn. Then he dashes to a table which he uses as a kitchen a little further from the bed. He yanks the kettle from the top of the paraffin stove and scrambles to the door. He cranks the bolt open and pulls the hingeless door to the side. A gust of air drifts in and plants goose pimples on his naked torso. It's an impolite breeze, and he disregards it. He leaps to the tap. It's on the outer wall of the four-roomed council house just across the small yard. His landlady owns the yard, the council house and the tap.

At the tap, he opens the water into the kettle. When it's filled, he puts it down. Then he takes handfuls of water in his cupped hands, throws the water over and about his body, the emphasis on the face and armpits. A light bulb flicks on onto the house's outer wall. The light falls on his body now poised in a crouch. "*Wena*," it's the landlady, "you know, *mos*, that we pay a lot for this water but you still won't use a basin when washing. I tell you all the time that..." His ears have shut to the landlady's rebukes, and his fingers are fumbling around the brass tap, twisting and turning its head until it locks. Mumbling some apologies, he whisks the kettle from the ground and careens back to his cabin.

At the terminus, a crowd is gathering rapidly. Taxies to Gugulethu and Mowbray are humming in idle gear. The taxi drivers are hailing at the commuters poised on City Tramway bus queues. They promise them enough room and quick trips in their always crammed and battered-down vans. Joining the Athlone queue, he becomes aware of the muted silence governing the lot. Their silence spites the hailing taxi drivers, the rolling car and bus engines, and the ambling feet of the gyrating terminus crowd. He thinks he noticed this silence last afternoon as he came back from work. Or, was it last Monday, the day the first 'stay away' fliers came out? He is usually at the *Hot Roll Centre* four or five minutes before the bakery owner. This morning the bakery owner is there before him. Of course, on Fridays he is up early since he has to take his sons to the Koran reading class at five-thirty. "Hey, you slept too much today, heh? *Jy't ba' geslap. Kom nou*. Let's take away the shutters." Shutters go down, and within a few minutes he and the bakery owner are inside the bakery's main section.

He looks up at the clock on the wall and the time is nearly six o'clock. It will be another eight hours before he goes back home. He counts down the seconds before the clock begins its chime. "Seven... six... five... four..." and the second hand stops dead. It actually stopped at count five.

"Sir," he looks around beside him, then over the counter, and then down the white hallway leading to the back section of the bakery. "Sir?"

"Okay, Okay, I was washing my hands here, you must be clean. Wash your hands quickly and take the *lappie* now and clean here quickly. The customer's coming now."

"Yes sir. The clock has stopped sir."

"Okay, okay, I know. It stopped a long time ago."

"No sir, it just stopped shortly before six."

"*Ja, ja, ja*, the battery's running flat. It stops and runs and stops and runs. Don't read that time." The bakery owner looks at his wristwatch. "It's twenty past six now and the customer's coming." There is sweat under his watch strap.

As the bakery owner goes to sit behind the counter, he follows the hallway to the washbasin in the back section. He washes the dust from the iron shutters away from his hands, and as soon as he is done, takes from under the washbasin a bucket which he left there the previous day. The soiled rags soaked in the bucket have a disagreeable smell. Wrinkling his nose, he picks one up, and wrings,

twists, and squeezes it into the washbasin. He throws the old water and the other rags into the washbasin, and having half-filled the bucket with fresh water, he drops the dry rag into it. Then he walks back through the hallway.

In the main section of the bakery, he picks the counter next to the bakery owner and begins cleaning its enamel surface. Rubbing it, he becomes absorbed in the movement of his hands. He begins making caressing motions on the counter. In one moment he creates smooth, circular, and steady motions, and in another one he makes a touch here, and an erratic swift but soft 'plob' there. Steadily the surface wears off, revealing increasing levels of shininess. At first it seems to reflect the sunrays streaming in through the glass walls in the front. Later, a picture takes form, an inverted black figure without the support of legs.

"What else is there to do, sir?" His own voice startles him, and it jolts him to stand upright.

"Okay, finished now?" The bakery owner has a telephone receiver in his hand, and its cradle under his armpit. "Yessir."

"Okay, wait now. I will tell you what to do." Prancing about in the little space behind the counter, the bakery owner is followed by the phone line in a wavy dance. Then he stops, presses the receiver to his ear, curses, and drops the whole gadget on the counter. "Now listen, this man is not there, but I know he's coming for his order any minute." He tucks his shirt-sleeves up. "I tell you what, make fifty cream doughnuts and twenty-five raisin loaves; ten with syrup coating and the rest without. Start with whatever you like, and be done before ten, okay?"

"Yessir," and he disappears into the back section of the bakery.

At ten o'clock when he reappears in the main section, he has made twenty raisin loaves. A big triple-blade fan buzzes in the hallway above the trolley where he has left the bread that is still hot from the ovens. He has also made fifty-three doughnuts. Fifty of these have been creamed and arranged in five silver trays which went in the warmer shelf in the back; two of them, having shrivelled and darkened from the oven heat, have been thrown out; the other one, having been coated with icing sugar and stuffed with whipped cream, was eaten.

An old lady leaning over the counter in the main section stammers as she sees him approach from the hallway. "He is working for me. Don't you know him?"

"Why, I don't. You always having a new man," her straw-hat tilts backwards as she talks. "Tell me, how much are your jam doughnuts?"

"Sixty-nine cents, madam," he is rolling up his shirt sleeves, "but you see these are all from yesterday madam, and I can make you a nice deal." He walks to the one side of the counter, counts the old doughnuts in the display shelf, and walks back to his chair behind the cash register. "See, I can give you all four of them for fifty cents each. Deal?"

The old lady is quiet. Her hat looks bigger than she is. The deal is lucrative. She empties a crumpled purse on the counter, follows the odd coins as they flip and bounce on the counter. There are three fifties, two twenties, and several fives and two's. "No," the straw-hat tilts to one side and then the other. "I have to buy some milk, too."

"Okay, okay. But see I can still give you two or three of them for the same price each, and you will still get milk."

"Just let me have one jam doughnut. I'll give you fifty. These are not fresh."

"Hey, hey, where are you?" and he notices him. "Okay, wrap this doughnut for your granny here. This is your granny, isn't it? Wrap it now quick quick."

His hand goes to a paper rack along the wall. He selects a brown bag that has 'Hot Roll Centre' printed on it in green. Having put the doughnut inside he passes it to the old lady, who takes the parcel with a nod that brings her hat over her eyes. And the cash register rings open, "Fifty cents, madam. You see I give you for fifty. Are you sure you don't want any of these?" He is pointing at yet another shelf in the display cabinet where other variations of dough and oil from the previous day sit decaying. As the old woman leaves the counter, the bakery owner waves at her, "Come again madam, thank you madam." His shirt sleeves have fallen back from his elbows to his wrists.

"Okay, finished with the order now? Good, good," he continues without turning to look at him. "Tell you what, you must make some nice rolls now, four trolleys full. Have them ready at twelve, okay. And clean the place back there, those rags are smelling, you know the place must be cleaned up, the inspector can come any day now."

"What inspector, sir?"

"The health inspector. He's from the government. Didn't I tell you about him?"

He looks up at the clock on the wall. The second hand ticks its circular path. The time is twenty past ten, he looks back at the bakery owner, "Is this the correct time now sir?"

"Yes. I had the battery replaced. You see, you have a lot of time to get done with the rolls," the bakery owner has retrieved a copy of the previous day's Cape Times edition from under the register. "*Workers Unions call for a Stay Away*" is written in bold print on the front page. He is turning the pages. "Keep your ears preened for Hassin's car. You will have to help us pack in his order when he arrives." He comes to the *Car-finder* section, extracts it from the paper, and adjusting his glasses puts it squarely before him. The bakery owner's finger scales down a column with used cars as the other man turns on his heel and follows the hallway to the back section.

Walking down the hallway, he extends his right hand onto the white wall. With each step, the tip of his finger rises and falls with the contrasting pattern of tile and groove. He starts counting the tiles on the wall without looking at them. Then his finger sinks into a deeper groove where an entire tile has peeled off. His count is disturbed, and he gives it up. Instead, he decides to make stroking movements, as with a painting brush. Initially, they are all doodles. Then arbitrary letters. Then 's...t...a...y...y...' and the wall finishes just when he only needs 'a' and 'y' to conclude 'stay away'. Needing to complete his idea, he pronounces the missing letters out loud.

A fly issues out of the garbage can close to the porcelain sink with the sordid rags from the previous day next to the bucket that is half-filled with water. The insect rises into the air in a delicate, darting rush, and brushes against the meshed window pane. It rises further to remain suspended in a drone just below the stained ceiling. Poising, his mind channels onto the inspector, a gentleman from the health department. He must be a big man who wears gold-rimmed spectacles, a starched white coat, and nonporous rubber boots. His boots must never soil, his coat must never get marks from fingerprints, and his spectacles never accumulate dust. If he came in now and



saw the fly, the bakery owner would lose his license, and the *Cape Times* would soon be informed to print a column about the dilapidation of the *Hot Roll Centre*, which might as well inspire a national project by the government to use high concentrate insecticides in the black troubled spots. He too would lose his job. He must kill this fly.

Somewhere there is an insecticide, he has seen the bakery owner use it before. He bends doublefold before a cabinet with three doors built into the wall. The fly drones on, and he looks up at it. He opens the first door, and searches the inside with his hand. He nearly brings down a pyramid of sealed syrup cans stacked on top of one another. He opens the second door, and this time he uses his eyes to look inside. There are batches of small cubes of yeast, some in yet unbroken two dozen plastic wraps, and others scattered about in their ruptured containers. He opens the last door. A roach scampers away to bury itself under a bundle of newspapers and sundry items collected there in.

"You!" And another roach big as his thumb shoots out just missing his nose. "And you! And you! And you!" The cabinet door has slammed shut, and jumping up he loses his balance, reels backward with his heels colliding, tips over the bucket half filled with water, and lands with his bottom in the porcelain sink with rags from the previous day.

"Look at yourself, this is only a cockroach." Standing above him, the bakery owner, a rather stocky man, looks bigger. Looks larger than his usual frame. His eyes are focused on the roach still roaming the enclosed back space, bumping against the flower sacks, hitting the ceiling and cutting close to the two of them. Then he makes one clean sweep with his hand and scoops the roach with his palm. He then throws it hard on the floor. It spills its milky insides and its wings snap off.

"There was also a fly," he wriggles himself out of the sink, "I was looking for the insecticide."

"That's finished," the bakery owner kicks the dead roach towards the garbage can. It slides into a little pool of water spilled from the bucket. "Come now, that guy is here. We must help him pack his order."

"And the water on the floor, sir?"
"I know. Your floor is messy. But, clean it up afterwards," and he moves his hands towards the sink. "This whole place is messy." His fingers working like forceps, he takes the sordid rags out of the sink, shakes them under his nose, and drops them back into the sink. Then he rinses his hands and dries them on the back of his pants. "Come, come," the bakery owner chaperons him into the hallway, "Hassim's waiting long now."

Packing Hassim's order has been quick. He brought four crates, one too many, to take the raisin bread and borrowed three trays from the bakery owner to carry the doughnuts, since he did not want them packed in the regular brown paper. The bread trolley had been driven from under the fan in the hallway into the main section, and the three men helped each other pack the bread from the trolley into the crates. Then, with one man remaining at the main section next to the packed crates, another man at the door, and another one at the rear of Hassim's van, they passed the crates onto each other, the second man mimicking the first man's action to the third, and the latter the second man's action to the van. When the crates were done, the bakery owner brought the doughnuts on the trays from the display.

"When am I getting these trays back *ou baas*?"

"Why, when I come back here."

"Ja, but I want to know when is that. I don't want my trays to get lost," he was fiddling with his shirt sleeves, "you know some guys that take your things and not bring them back."

All three men laughed, and they started passing down the trays as they did the crates. Hassim did not say when he would be back. When Hassim had gone, the bakery owner took a notepad and wrote, "14 December '88: Hassim 3 trays." Below this he added, "and Bohemian cutlery set from wedding day: 30 October '88."

He has been at the back section of the bakery for almost fifteen minutes when the clock chimes eleven. His hands are white with flour that he has been mixing with sugar and yeast before adding water to it. He is preparing the rolls that have to be ready at noon.

He can use the time that he now has available before the rolls are ready to read the magazines and newspapers in the cabinet. As he opens the cabinet, he wonders about the roaches in it, and grunts about the insecticide that he could not find. In the cabinet's base enclave is a bundle of newspapers and magazines secured with a string. The string is still as intact as when he bound it. That was a week ago. He remembers this because the bakery owner who came in to let him know he was picking back his sons from the Koran class, caught him reading the *Cape Times*. Had the rolls not been burning in the oven that very moment, the bakery owner would not have been angry about this.

But there he was, his head buried in the centerspread with pictures shot at the scene in Brighton, Eastern Cape, young men and women lying limp on the ground, heads and limbs twisted in neckbreaking and gingerly positions, blood smudges, gaping bullet wounds, the background; a faceless crowd the camera trapped in flight from rifle-toting police officers, like the churning red dust it locked in midair above the murderous earth. He did not know how long the bakery owner was there behind him when his hand shook him by the shoulder. Without losing hold on the paper, he turned to face him. Both men stood shaking before each other. He knew why he was shaking but could not explain why the bakery owner was doing the same.

Then the bakery owner tore the newspaper from the other man's grip, crumpled it in a manner that strained the knuckles of his pudgy hands, and threw the crushed lump into the garbage can—which he missed. "The rolls!" the words finally came to his mouth, putting to rest his lips which hitherto had made fine movements without any utterances. Later that day, the bakery owner told him to clear up and throw out all the waste magazines and newspapers in the back section. Having gathered every scrap together in a bundle, he bound the collection in a string, and instead of throwing it out, packed it away in a remote enclave at the base of the cabinet.

Leaving the bundle on top of the cabinet, he goes to check the rolls that are preparing in the oven. The oven is bright with yellow light issuing from a 200-watt globe attached to its roof. The dough has risen to almost the size of his clenched fist, and the spaces which he left between individual dough balls when he arranged them a few minutes earlier have been covered. A few more minutes and these will be real rolls ready to sell. But can they be baking too fast? He checks the temperature. He finds it to be at 400° C. He brings it down to 350. He examines the

timer, it records nine minutes, and he takes it up to fifteen. This is just in case the rolls are baking too fast. Besides, too much temperature only hardens the top and makes it brown, while it leaves the underside doughy and sometimes even raw. On the other hand, lower temperatures and extended baking time makes the rolls soft and evenly baked. Leaving the ovens, he goes to see what may be engaging the bakery owner at the main section.

"Ja, so you've come 'round here now?" the bakery owner is reclining on the high chair behind the cash register.

"Yes sir. I came to. . ."

"I know, you came to see what I was doing, right?" the bakery owner smiles at him.

"Yes sir," he smiles back at the bakery owner. "So what are you doing now sir?"

"Well, nothing. Nothing really," his fingers play with his shirt sleeves. "But why? I mean if you want to take your lunch break right away its okay with me. You can see we are not very busy right now."

"Oh, thank you sir. But I still have those rolls in the oven, sir."

"Don't worry. Don't you worry about the rolls. I'll take care of them. But tell you what, if you should leave right away, just be sure to be back here a little before one. At about oneish, I've got to go and fetch my sons back from the Mosque."

"Then that's okay, sir, that's okay. I'll take my break right away."

At a quarter to one when he comes back, he finds the bakery owner emptying the last batch of rolls from the trolley into the bread rack.

"You are back again. Good timing. I just finished your job." His long sleeves, now covering half his hands, are blackened from the soot on the trays, and his palms look reddish from holding the heated trays without the aid of gloves. "Tell you what, I have to leave now."

"Okay sir. And what time will you be back, sir?"

"I don't know. It depends on whether or not they are holding road blocks this afternoon."

"I didn't know that they held road blocks here in Athlone, too."

"Come on," he is folding his shirt sleeves, "you know they've been having road blocks everywhere now, ever since the state of emergency." He then makes his way behind the counter and climbs on the chair behind the cash register. "But supposing I'm not here at two, just mix the dough for another trolley-full of rolls." He rings the cash register and extracts two twenty rand notes, and one five from it. "We will be working late tonight as usual, and I want to bring back my sons here to assist us." He has found an envelope under the counter, and is now putting bank notes in it. "You have worked six hours today, but I want you to go home when I get back here with my sons." He licks the envelope and seals it, then he beckons the other man to come closer. "This is your pay. A good week's work." He hands the envelope to him and re-adjusts himself on the high chair. "So, I was saying you'll have to go home as soon as I get back here, but then I'll need you later this evening, at about seven-ish, say." He adjusts his glasses, "and you don't have to worry about transport because I'll pick you up and then again drop you back at your place when we close at ten. Now how is that with you?"

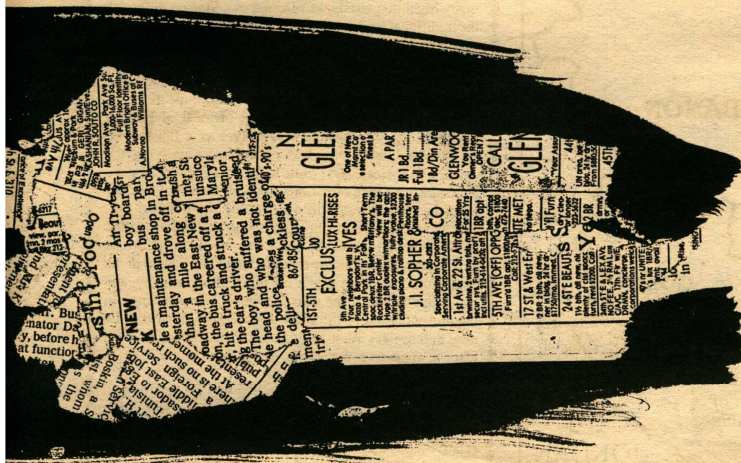
"Mnh, that means nine hours work today for me, sir, plus an entire evening gone."

"You know I'll pay you for the extra hour, and I mean, I really need your help, deal?"

"Deal sir, bad deal."

"There is no helping it young man. But know that you have my thanks." At this point the bakery owner takes his car keys from underneath the counter, plummets onto the ground from the high chair, and with a nod, signals the other man to take his position behind the counter. "You are on your own now," he is walking towards the main entrance, but he stops before reaching it. "By the way," he talks without looking at the other man, "those mags and newspapers at the back, why don't you have them if you want them?"

"Sir?" His hands tighten on the counter. A bundle tied with a string on top of the back cabinet flashes in his mind, "God, he saw them!" is all the thought he can muster, but he must make an excuse, he must find something to say, "Thank you, sir." Looking at the entrance, he finds there was nobody to thank, or to make an excuse to; the bakery owner was gone. He wonders if he should feel relieved. In another hour or so, the bakery owner will be back. He will have questions to ask. If not about the bundle of newspapers and magazines which he must have assumed long gone, it will be about the dead roach that still lay on the floor in a pool of water. Or it could be about the smelling porcelain sink that still contained the sordid rags from the previous day, or the 'stay away' slogan impressed against the dust clinging on the hallway tiles. But in another hour or so, he will also be going home, and there will not be enough time to talk. V



Lebanon: A Nation Immobilized by Conflict

By Ussama Makdisi

As the election deadline passed in Lebanon on September 23, so too did another chapter in the Lebanese civil war. For the first time since the outbreak of sustained violent fighting in 1975, even the semblance of a single central government no longer remains. Two governments now compete for political recognition and legitimacy: one headed by Selim al-Hoss, the civilian Sunni Muslim prime minister, who was appointed after the assassination of Rachid Karami last year; the other, a military government headed by Brigadier General Michel Aoun, was formed minutes before former president Amin Gemayel's term expired.

To summarize the conflict that has torn Lebanon apart is a difficult undertaking; oversimplification is a tempting prospect. Yet, instead of approaching the Lebanese war with any total analysis (both unwise and premature) I will try simply to give an overview of the tragedy of that country. The crucial dates which give some explanation for the events of 1975 are 1943, 1948, 1958, 1967 and 1970. The Israeli invasion of 1982 produced an entirely different picture, eliminating some players but creating many more. The savage fighting of the summer of 1982 shaped the present predicament of Lebanon and the events to come in the following years.

At the root of the conflict is the issue of political power and more specifically the 1943 National Pact, in which the Maronite Christians have traditionally held the lion's share. Sunni Muslims were accorded considerable power in the Pact and the Shi'a Muslims considerably less. Everyone else: Druze, Protestants, Greek Orthodox, were simply excluded from any positions of influence. In 1943, using a census taken during the French Mandate (1920-1943), proportional representation was divided along communal lines. The presidency was an acknowledged right of Maronites, the prime minister would be a Sunni Muslim, the head of parliament would be a Shi'a Muslim. The Army Command and Directorate-General of Security were also reserved for Christians, and the governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon was assumed to be a Maronite. In Parliament, deputies were divided on a 6:5 Christian-Muslim ratio.

This system of government seemed to work as long as the demographic changes were not dramatic. Indeed, the most significant event leading to the destabilization of central authority in Lebanon was the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. The Arab-Israeli war of 1948 led to mass expulsions and flight of Palestinians into countries surrounding Palestine, namely Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt, with Lebanon the most fragile, depending on a balance along communal lines. The influx of predominantly Sunni Muslim Palestinian refugees into Lebanon threatened to upset this balance completely. The Lebanese Muslim population began to call for a greater share of political power. Tensions rose as the Maronites refused to accept the reality of the demographic situation.

By 1958 it was clear that the Maronites were no longer the largest minority. This year also presented the first crisis to test the Lebanese state. In Lebanon, there was pressure on President Chamoun to join the United Arab Republic that had recently been formed by Egypt and Syria. Egyptian president Gamal Abdel-Nasser, who had risen into the status of a great statesman by the 1956 Suez War, had taken upon himself the mantle of pan-Arabism. 1958, the Syrian parliament dissolved itself to unite with Egypt and formed the UAR. Sporadic clashes occurred between Muslims and Christians, though not all Muslims, by any means, supported the National Front, nor did all Christians support the government.

President Chamoun decided to accept the Eisenhower Doctrine, which stated that U.S. troops would be used to defend Near Eastern countries against "communist aggression." US Marines landed near Beirut, but fighting continued, whereupon President Chamoun urged the commander of the Army to crush the rebellion. The General refused to allow the army a partisan role in the conflict, which laid the framework for the popular perception of the army: that in time of political instability, the army was the only legitimate institution capable of unifying the country's various sects.

The third major Arab-Israeli war was in 1967. Once again Israel had conquered more Arab-Palestinian land, and once again refugees streamed across the borders into Jordan and Lebanon. The consequences of that disastrous war were also the eclipse of Nasser and the stunning realization that Israel had overwhelmed the combined armies of Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Nasser had to take a

back seat to the PLO after their heroic stand at a village called Karameh (literally "dignity"), where PLO fedayeen, alongside Jordanian regulars, stood their ground and inflicted heavy casualties on the vastly superior Israeli army. Yasir Arafat took over as chairperson of the PLO (formed in 1964) and a new era of Palestinian nationalism was inaugurated.

This nationalism manifested itself not so much in the West Bank and Gaza (at present under direct Israeli military control) as in the refugee camps scattered across the Arab world. In Jordan and Lebanon, the PLO found a relatively secure base of operations. King Hussein of Jordan saw the rise of the PLO as a direct challenge to his authority, and in 1970 he crushed the PLO in Jordan, massacring large numbers of Palestinian civilians. Lebanon once again found itself as the only host for additional Palestinian refugees, uprooted for the second or even third time. The Lebanese government attempted to exert its control over the Palestinian refugee camps, which since 1967 had rapidly become the focal point of militant Palestinian nationalism. Palestinians were subjected to arbitrary police raids and other forms of harassment. The Sunni Lebanese sympathized with the Palestinians, whereas the Maronites saw the Palestinians as a direct threat to their privileged status. In 1968, fighting broke out between the Lebanese army and an alliance of Palestinians and Sunnis. The Cairo pact was signed as a result, giving the PLO the right to bear arms in the refugee camps. The Palestinians could at least feel some security, constant Israeli bombardments notwithstanding. The Lebanese, especially the Maronites, were outraged at this 'state within a state.'

In South Lebanon the cycle of Israeli air raids, Palestinian commando attacks, and Israeli reprisals led to the deaths of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians. In 1975, the tenuous balance in the capital gave way when a bus carrying Palestinians was ambushed in a suburb of Beirut, and all on board were killed. This spark set off a conflagration. Fighting erupted; Muslim suburbs pounded Christian areas, and vice-versa. Barricades were set up, and kidnappings and snipings began in earnest. Cease fires were constantly negotiated and with alarming regularity, were then immediately broken. The Maronites, led by the phalangists, urged Lebanon to fight for Lebanon, and took upon themselves to speak for all Lebanese Christians. The Sunni Muslims in alliance with the predominantly Druze Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) claimed to be fighting for a democratic Lebanon. Massacres were committed with equal abandon by both sides; it would be pointless to catalogue the massacres, just as it is pointless to argue who was at fault.



Beirut was divided along the green line into East (Christian) and West (Muslim); this line was became the symbol of agony and despair. The Lebanese army, once thought to be the only force capable of restoring order, was utterly paralyzed, since its officer corps was predominantly Christian while the soldiers were mostly Muslim.

The Lebanese Forces (right-wing Maronite Christian militia) were unable to reverse their military defeats, despite massive infusion of Israeli aid. Syria intervened in Lebanon as part of the Arab Deterrent Force mandated by the Arab League and accepted by the Lebanese government. Ironically, Syria was opposed to a Sunni victory in Lebanon. The minority Alawi sect dominate the ruling Syrian Ba'ath party in a mostly Sunni Syria. Also a leftist victory would make a mockery of the leftist rhetoric of Hafez al-Assad's regime, which ruled at home with an iron fist. In addition, a victory for the PLO in Lebanon would increase its autonomy, something both Israel and Syria wanted to counter.

The aid of the Syrians halted the advance of the leftist Muslim alliance. The Syrian army failed, though, in its attempt to enter Palestinian dominated areas because the PLO refused to allow the Syrians control over the Palestinian refugee camps. This solidified the growing rift between Assad and Arafat.

In 1977 there was a temporary truce which stopped the bloodshed. But Assad was not content to allow his troops to be mere players in the conflict; he wanted to exert control and to establish a Syrian sponsored peace accord. The Lebanese Forces rejected any enlargement of Syrian power, and the Syrian army, that had saved the Maronite political hegemony was now turned against them. In 1978 Syrian guns pounded East Beirut and its suburbs day and night; but the Syrian attempt to shell the intransigent Lebanese Forces into submission failed—Israeli jets made sure the Syrian air force stayed on the ground. The political deadlock remained.

The Israeli invasion of 1982 was the beginning of the darkest period in the Lebanese war. From the outset, the Palestinian presence had regionalized the conflict; the Syrian army had broadened this process and the Israeli army brought it to catastrophic proportions. The 1982 invasion caused unparalleled destruction and death in Lebanon. The Lebanese Forces openly welcomed the invasion, although the Israeli action actually helped shift sympathy back to the Palestinian cause. The indiscriminate use by Israel of cluster bombs, phosphorus and napalm led to enormous civilian casualties. Israel besieged West Beirut to force the PLO into a humiliating surrender. Though eventually, the Israelis realized that the PLO was not going to be bombed into submission, and indeed the Palestinians and their Lebanese allies were prepared for a protracted battle. Bashir Gemayel's Lebanese Forces refused to directly take part in the war; the immensity of Israeli slaughter shocked even them. More importantly, Gemayel had presidential ambitions and realized that if he took part he could never be elected.

The evacuation of the PLO from Beirut in August of 1982 was followed by a presidential election in which Bashir Gemayel was elected, and despite opposition from many Muslim quarters, he reached an understanding with the traditional leaders. With the PLO effectively out of the equation, the Sunnis realized that their power had peaked and was rapidly declining. Most of the opposition to Gemayel now came from the Shi'a and the Druze. Still, with Israel in occupation of substantial portions of Lebanon and with Syria in control of most of Eastern Lebanon, the Lebanese saw Gemayel as a figure who despite his bloody past was capable of reunifying the country. In rhetoric and (while he lived) in action, he gave the country a sense of national revival. Gemayel was not immediately interested in overhauling the political system, but rather in consolidating his power. He was killed on September 14, and his death was wisely attributed to the Syrians, though many thought Israel had a hand in the explosion. His death was a crushing blow to many, and chaos prevailed for the next month. The Israeli army, in flagrant violation of the cease-fire accords, occupied the now defenseless West Beirut, and then allowed phalangists to massacre thousands of Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

Amin Gemayel, Bashir's brother, was elected, though the Maronites were much less enthusiastic about Amin than they were about his more charismatic brother. The relative optimism that surrounded his election allowed him to embark on a program of strengthening the Lebanese army with US aid. It soon became apparent that

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Watts

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Watts said that Wesleyan's liberalism, and by this he said he meant a certain tolerance, is both a virtue and a weakness. There is a tolerance for diversity, "but it does not demand confrontation with these differences," Watts said. While he said this type of tolerance is positive in situations such as the toleration of lesbians and gays in the San Francisco Bay Area, it is not conducive to engaging in a communal discourse around the types of issues he was discussing. Watts said at Wesleyan there is little discourse between the person doing the tolerating with the person being tolerated. Watts commented, "Some of you all call this being politically correct."

A different kind of toleration would be the kind that would happen in what Watts identified as Southern political culture. He said Southern culture does not have tolerance; "Southerners would have to think that it would be okay for them to be like that" before they would tolerate something. Watts said that in Southern political culture there isn't the kind of compartmentalization he identified with the Bay Area or with Wesleyan political culture. This leads to a more oppressive society, Watts said, "but if there was acceptance, it would be more authentic. I'm trying to get us to move more towards a certain Southern type of confrontation with diversity; personally engaging with what we claim to be tolerating."

Looking at the intellectual culture of Wesleyan, Watts spoke of how Afro-American studies would be tolerated but would not necessarily be confronted and would not be accepted as part of the discourse of the campus. "It's there, and it's something good to publicize when someone asks you if you have it, but it's nothing the university is going to give a centrality to when formulating its curriculum," Watts said. He added that, "it's always going to be on the margins, as something just to legitimate a certain type

of liberal self-definition about the university." Watts said, "the devaluation of Afro-American studies, how it hasn't reached a status of acceptance in academic discourse, has to do with the cultural devaluation of blacks and black subject matter in the society at large."

Watts said that when you work in Afro-American Studies, as he does, one's relations with the university become problematic. The Center for Afro-American Studies, he said, almost monopolizes discourse on race, and Black-American ethnicity on this campus. He termed as "phenomenal" the compartmentalization of intellectual issues related to Afro-Americans are on this campus. He added that this is an issue separate from how compartmentalized black professors are on this campus. "The issue is almost, if we don't teach it in the Center, then no one in this university is going to claim something is missing," Watts said, and added that this is true as well for the study of Black Africa at this university. "There is no historian studying Black Africa, no political scientist, no sociologist, no anthropologist. That's a big loophole for an entire part of the world. That's a racial parochialism in the curriculum."

When you raise these issues, Watts said, you often have people saying that it's hard to find Blacks who are qualified to teach at Wesleyan. Watts said that this is a separate issue from not having the subject matter covered at all. That is because, Watts said, "the subject matter itself doesn't have a legitimacy."

Watts commented that it's the responsibility of those at Center for Afro-American Studies to get another program to join in a joint appointment with them. The university doesn't coordinate this for the Center, although the administration will ask departments to join in a joint appointment for every other department. "And that's literally an abdication of any notion of curricular integration on the part of the

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The Critics Are Raving for the Feel-Good Vice-President of the Year!!

"A good young man with such a nice family!"

—Dorothy Harrold,
Republican delegate

"I cannot think of six other senators who know as much about the complexities of arms control!"

—Richard Nixon, former
unindicted co-conspirator

"Not nearly as conservative as he's been characterized by the media!"

—Howard Phillips,
Conservative Caucus

"A deer caught in the headlights!"

—"Puzzled but admiring
conservative" quoted
in Village Voice



Dan Quayle
One Humble Hoosier

Chace

continued from page 5

Hermes: So when you talk about a common vocabulary you are speaking about something that would be very particular to Wesleyan?

Chace: Absolutely. An appropriate fit for Wesleyan's own sense of itself which very much stresses . . . individual initiative, local autonomies, a kind of syndical anarchism. . .

Hermes: I've never heard Wesleyan described as a hotbed of syndicalist anarchists, that's a new one. I don't quite understand that though. . . a common vocabulary at Wesleyan that in a sense is only self-referential?

Chace: Why not?

Hermes: Well, however the academy might want to think of itself as an ivory tower, it isn't. . . We are in Middletown, Connecticut, and we are in the world at large.

Chace: Sure, and if you have a discussion about the curriculum, some members of the community would reflect that fact, wouldn't they? If you talk to a lot of people from different beliefs, ideologies and persuasions, you'll have people saying, 'Well one of the things I really want to do is go to medical school, in order to go to medical school I have to take certain courses in certain sequences.' Or you might get people saying, 'I don't want

to go to medical school at all, but I want to emerge with a very clear sense of historical evolution,' or someone else might say, 'I don't care about that at all, I just want to study Greek.' This place is made up of a huge variety of different persuasions, beliefs, so forth. I'm interested in seeing what sort of common denominators there are. I suppose there are people who would say the common denominator here is the lack of a common denominator, so stop trying.

Hermes: What is your sense of what a common vocabulary would be for Wesleyan?

Chace: I really can't tell you; it's too early.

Hermes: So it's something you're studying right now?

Chace: It's something I'm studying. First of all, one of the things I have to do is put together the means, the formal means to study it. There is no curriculum committee, the departments are only very loosely organized into divisions, and these divisions report to an academic dean who reports to the Vice-President for Academic Affairs. One place where the curriculum is studied in a partial way is the Educational Policy Committee, but mostly what they do is approve new courses rather than take a large or comprehensive look at the curriculum.

Hermes: So are you looking to create a new committee? **Chace:** Well, I'm no great fan of new committees. I don't know what I'm going to do yet. I think I'll have to contrive some structure to study this. Maybe I'll ask the EPC to broaden its sense of responsibility. I'm very afraid of the proliferation of committees, task forces. . . that way lies the consumption of a lot of student and faculty time. And unless it's really well done it's wasted time.

Hermes: So if we're not talking about a core curriculum or a required class, or an English composition class, how do you envision Wesleyan achieving a common vocabulary?

Chace: That's the question I'm trying to look at. And I don't mean to be evasive. I have had one kind of illumination about it: to see what is it we already hold in common. Is it a lot? I mean this is not, excuse the term, a thousand points of light, they are never separate, it's not just dots—there are some connections between the dots that students make that faculty make. There's a lot of networking going

on here, probably without anybody particularly knowing what the network looks like. They just know it exists. It's like Italy in the 17th century in which you have these dukedoms and fiefdoms that sort of developed trade relations with different people, and there was a kind of common vocabulary but there was no Italy.

Hermes: So you're talking about a kind of Wesleyan "risorgimento"? [nationalist movement to unify Italy in 19th century]

Chace: Garibaldi!

Hermes: Do you see yourself as the Wesleyan Garibaldi? I believe there is a Garibaldi Society in Middletown.

Chace: There is the Giuseppe Garibaldi society down on Washington Street. I like Italy! It's my favorite country, maybe that's why I'm at Wesleyan. Because Wesleyan is like Italy, it's not like France, it's not like Germany.

Hermes: Are you saying that with all the diversity, you still see something of the same language spoken?

Chace: Why don't you call me the Wesleyan Dante. I'll be the inventor of the new Tuscano.

Hermes: So like Dante, you want to create an Italian language, a common language. . . I wanted to ask you what is a "deep tribal culture," I was wondering if you were saying something about structural anthropology?

Chace: It means the same thing [as common vocabulary]. If an anthropologist came here from very far away, that person would see a great deal of similarity between us all here. But we here on this campus, particularly the students, stress strong individual differences.

Hermes: I was at a talk last night where Professor Jerry Watts gave a talk on racism at Wesleyan, and he was also talking about the needs to form a commonality at Wesleyan. Though he directed a lot of his talk towards a critique of a diversity that says 'okay' on the surface level, but doesn't confront marginalization. . .

Chace: Just benign passive acceptance.

Hermes: And I want to see how you would relate your vision of a common vocabulary with what Professor Watts was talking about.

Chace: Well, I'd like to see more of what he said. It sounds like the language is similar, it sounds like we might be talking on the same wave length.V



DANTE ALIGHIERI

Anti-Frat Protest Draws Crowd, Debates

By Anne Hopcraft

The Organization Against Fraternity Harassment and Discrimination, a group of students and alumni, staged a guerrilla-theater-style action against harassment and discrimination by the all-male predominantly white fraternities on December 7. The group charged the University administration with acting complicitly with the fraternities by taking minimal action on abuse at fraternities.

Eight students wore signs such as "End university compliance with harassment and abuse" and "End white male privilege to harass." Some of the protesters wore blank masks symbolizing the

anonymity of many of the survivors of such abuse.

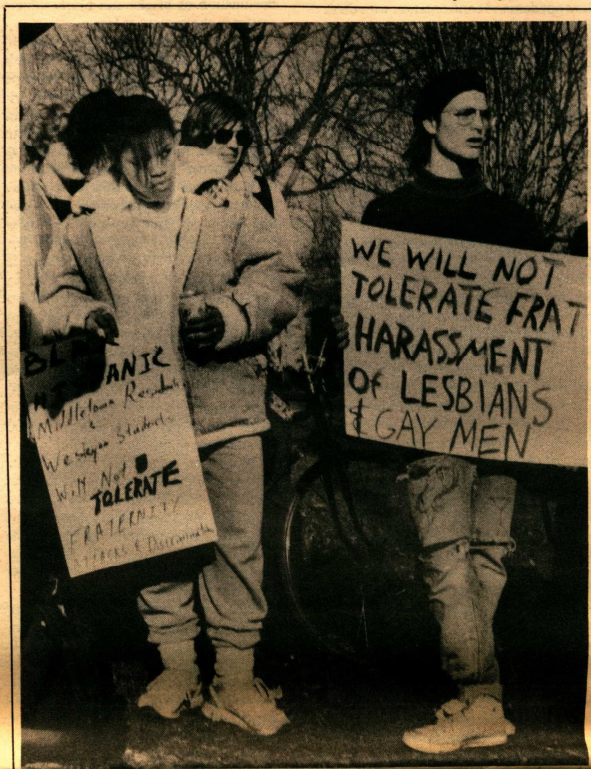
The eight took turns reading aloud descriptions of racist, sexist, and homophobic incidents reported to have taken place in the predominantly white fraternities or by frat members. The list of incidents was culled from issues of the *Argus*, SJB releases, and testimonies from the speakout against verbal harassment in the fall of 1987 and from the forum on racism in the fall of 1988. Following each statement, the eight students and members of the crowd gathered there chanted, "This will no longer be tolerated." V

photo by Eileen Mullin



photo by Eileen Mullin

Protesters read descriptions of frat atrocities on Chi Psi lawn.



Supporters in the crowd carried signs displaying their anger.

Beirut

continued from page 7

the new president was not interested in the issue of redistribution of power and was among the most corrupt presidents in recent memory. In the mean time, Gemayel angered Syria by pursuing a foreign policy independent of Syrian wishes. He signed the May 1983 accord with Israel, which was basically a humiliating series of concessions to the Israelis, who were still occupying the entire South. Gemayel's troubles were compounded by the rise of the popular National Resistance, a coalition of guerrilla organizations fighting to end the Israeli occupation. The success of the Resistance, originally led by the Syrian Communist Party but quickly amalgamated to the Islamic Resistance, embarrassed Gemayel, whose Lebanese army had done very little to face the Israeli army of occupation.

The International Peace Keeping Forces, composed of Italian, French and US contingents, arrived after the Sabra and Shatila massacres and were soon embroiled in the conflict. The Italian troops were by far the most popular: they actually defended the refugee camps, administered free health care and managed to keep themselves neutral. The French were also respected, but their past history and their close identification with the Maronites put them in a precarious position in West Beirut. The American Marines were at first regarded with ambivalence, but as the US committed itself to building up the Lebanese Army, the Marines were seen as the defenders of the status quo.

In February 1984, the PSP and Amal, the largest Shi'a militia which call for a "democratic" Lebanon, joined forces in a short-lived alliance to oust the Lebanese Army from South Lebanon and West Beirut. The US 6th Fleet intervened on the side of the Lebanese Army, and inevitably, the US troops were seen by the anti-government forces (Amal, PSP, Hizballah, Syria) as enemies—hence the truck bombing of the marine barracks that killed hundreds of Marines.

There was deep division amongst the Maronites of what path to follow, and the military force of the Maronites broke into three factions; those loyal to Gemayel and the Lebanese Army, the forces of Elie Hobeika who were increasingly willing to deal with Syria and the Muslim/Druze alliance, and the Lebanese Forces. When Hobeika negotiated the Tripartite Pact with Syria, which stated Amal and the PSP were to resolve the political crises and introduce political reform, Gemayel and the

Lebanese Forces allied to liquidate Hobeika's militia and kill the tripartite agreement.

By November of 1985, the alliance between the PSP and Amal was dead because of competition for control of West Beirut. In 1985 the PSP and Amal clashed; the bloody fighting left 200 dead, mostly civilians. The following year the two militias unleashed a week of terror as fighting again spread from block to block. The street fighting left over 400 civilians dead, victims again of senseless fighting. After these battles, the population and politicians turned to Syria. Hafez al-Assad's troops were indeed the only power who could enforce the peace. When Syrian troops mobilized to enter West Beirut they were greeted as saviors by the Sunni population. On the face of it, the gunmen disappeared from the streets, and order was restored. The Maronites viewed the Syrian deployment with great apprehension and the Lebanese Forces openly condemned Syria, calling for them to withdraw from Lebanon.

The Syrian army, however, did not enter all of West Beirut; the suburbs and the Palestinian camps were left outside the Syrian perimeter. The Palestinian camps, having been under siege in 1982, were besieged almost continuously since 1985 by the Amal militia. The Shi'a fighters animosity of Amal felt towards the Palestinians dates back to the days of the PLO excesses and domination in southern Lebanon before 1982. The siege would not be lifted until 1988; when the *intifada* began, Amal, out of embarrassment, lifted its siege of the Beirut refugee camps.

In 1988 tension rose between Amal and Hizballah, a pro-Iranian grassroots Shi'a militia. Both militias competed for support from the Shi'a. Amal's agenda was in rhetoric a secular one. Both the Syrians and the Israelis wanted Daoud Daoud, Amal's regional military commander for southern Lebanon, to put an end to any PLO military presence in the South as well as to curb the influence of Hizballah. Palestinian commandoes were stopped by Amal fighters from crossing the border into Israel. The kidnapping of American UN observer William Higgins gave Amal the pretext it needed to crush Hizballah in the south. Fighting resumed and the Hizballah fighters were defeated. Regrouping in southern suburbs, Hizballah fighters waited their chance, and when fighting began again in the suburbs, Hizballah routed Amal's forces.

The extraordinary June session of the Arab League in Algeria was a result of the Palestinian *intifada*. Arafat's influence was recognized, and Syria's attempts to discredit his leadership failed. But Assad did not take this rebuff lightly—once again Lebanon was the scene of the reaction. With the Lebanese elections coming up in September, Hafez al-Assad moved to consolidate Syrian political hegemony in West Beirut. Since the Palestinian camps were the only possible Muslim source of an attempt to disrupt the elections, Assad unleashed the deadly artillery bombardments of June and July on the camps. Sabra and Shatila were totally destroyed; Arafat's fighters withdrew to refugee camps in the South. As far as Syria was concerned, West Beirut was now firmly in its control.

Gemayel and the Lebanese Forces were in the mean time positioning themselves for the upcoming elections. It seemed as if the next president could be the one to guide Lebanon out of its predicament. However, Suleiman Franjeh shocked everyone by announcing his decision to seek the presidency for the second time—he had been president when the fighting began in 1975, and was staunchly pro-Syrian. Optimism quickly transformed to pessimism. The Lebanese Forces rejected his candidacy while Gemayel attempted to impose his own protégé. The first session of parliament to elect the next president was cancelled when the Lebanese Forces called a successful boycott. Another session was called for mid-September; again the minimum quorum to vote was not met. The elections were again postponed. The September 23 deadline rapidly approached, and diplomatic shuttles between Damascus and Beirut increased; however by the eve of September 23, no agreement was forthcoming.

Just minutes before his term expired, Gemayel decreed the creation of a provisional military government headed by Brig. Gen. Michel Aoun. The Muslims immediately rejected the new government, declaring it to be a violation even of the 1943 National Pact. The government of Selim al-Hoss declared itself to be the sole legitimate authority. Both governments issue conflicting orders to the various ministries; those that lie in East Beirut follow the orders of the military government and those in West Beirut follow the directives of the civilian government. And so, as is so often the case in Lebanon, the present conflict demands a temporary solution which will probably be found, but the real question of political reforms through the abolition of the 1943 National Pact is again postponed. V

Hermes Bulletin Board

Events

December 17: The Coalition to Stop Trident plans a major nonviolent legal demonstration at the commissioning of the *USS Tennessee*, the 9th Trident submarine and the first capable of firing the Trident II/D-5 missile, at the Naval Underwater Systems Center in New London, CT. Info: CtST, Box 411, New Haven, CT 06502; ☎(203) 789-1932.

December 23: The Brandywine Peace Community will mark the holidays with a candlelight vigil at its 10th annual Christmas service at the Philadelphia GE plant where the Trident II missile and the MX are produced. Call: ☎(215) 544-1818.

January 16: The Coalition to Stop Trident will hold a major nonviolent direct action and legal demonstration at Electric Road in Groton. Info: CtST, Box 411, New Haven, CT 06502; ☎(203) 789-1932.

January 28: To commemorate the third anniversary of the Challenger disaster, there will be a national protest at the Kennedy Space Center in Florida of the weaponization of space and the Trident II missile. It will be preceded by a two-week peace walk. For details: FL Coalition for Peace and Justice, P.O. Box 2486, Orlando, FL 32802; ☎(407) 422-3479.

February 8-March 6: The Nevada Test Site will be the focus of prayer, reflection and action as Lenten Desert Experience VIII takes place under the auspices of the Nevada Desert Experience, P.O. Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV 89127; ☎(702) 646-4814.

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Miscellaneous

Margaret Randall's immigration status, which appeared to have been settled a year ago, is again in doubt, due to an October Congressional limitation of the ideological exclusion provision of the McCarran-Walter Act. For details and action suggestions on behalf of the U.S.-born writer and teacher: Boston Committee to Defend Margaret Randall, P.O. Box 2227, Cambridge, MA 02238.

Are you interested in the *social and political* issues of AIDS? Our student-run tutorial on AIDS will be re-offered next semester. Many controversial topics will be explored, including different medical theories and predictions about AIDS/ARC, discrimination against people with AIDS/ARC, and the effect of AIDS on people of color, prisoners, poor people, and children. The course is a full credit course, with a fairly heavy reading load and individual projects. If you are interested, please contact Olivia Smith (638-0193, Box 4987) or Kevin Rainier (638-0819, Box 4890) immediately.

Concerned about the future of West African Drumming classes at Wesleyan?

The administration does not plan to hire another instructor while Abraham Adzinyah is on sabbatical next semester. The program has been gradually cut back for years, and now the West African music program is in real danger. Come to a meeting on Thursday, December 15 at 2 p.m. in Music Studio room 301. Nat Greene and Neely Bruce will be on hand to discuss the situation.

Looking for adventure? A real change of pace? Come travel to Africa and the Caribbean with Crossroads. Operation Crossroads Africa, a private non-governmental organization focusing on international development and cultural exchange actively seeks participants for our summer team projects in Africa and the Caribbean. Teams spend six to eight weeks working and traveling in east, west or southern Africa, or the Caribbean. Through physical work and alongside local counterparts, Crossroads participants at the grassroots level in the daily life of African and Caribbean societies. For program and cost information write: Operation Crossroads Africa, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011; ☎(212) 242-8550 or ☎(800) 42-AFRICA.

The "Earth-to-Presidents" Project is sending a New Year's message of peace to the leaders of the US and USSR. The goal of this grassroots initiative is to communicate mass support for global cooperation. To have your name and address included, write to the Earth-to-Presidents Project, P.O. Box 5506, Glendale, AZ 85312.

Trees for Life provides funding and know-how to people in developing countries to plant and care for food and fuel trees to fight world hunger. They are launching a petition drive to ask the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to undertake a joint effort to plant 1000 million fruit trees in developing countries. Details: TTL, 1103 Jefferson, Wichita, Kansas 67203; ☎(316) 263-7294.

Watts

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university." Watts contrasted this situation with a program such as the Science in Society Program, in support of which the university will force departments to take joint appointments. Watts added, though, that this is an issue that can be easily addressed by the new administration.

Watts pointed out what he called other examples of intellectual ghettoization on this campus. The Music Department was one such example, since artists-in-residence are only given one year renewable contracts; in two cases, professors have been in this type of contract for 18 years and 12 years. Watts noted how ridiculous this was considering what these people contribute to the university. The ethno-musicology program is part of the rich diversity of the campus, Watts said, and central to the public perception of the university, although it is marginalized by the university in terms of the resources allocated to it. Permanent contracts are very important, Watts said, because of the security they provide, among other things; the one-year appointments marginalize. Watts added, "(Bill) Lowe (known to some as 'Bud') is far more than a performing artist, although we have tenured performing artists on this campus." Watts noted that these issues too can be easily addressed by the new administration.

A puzzle Watts said he was trying to figure out is the cause of the devaluation of the Afro-American Studies program; is the program devalued because it is Afro-American related, or because those who monopolize the discourse are themselves Black Americans. "It's often-times been thought that one way to increase the status of Afro-American Studies on a university campus like Wesleyan is in fact to go and hire more whites to teach it." Watts commented on the irony of how in the quest for respectability for Afro-American Studies, you eliminate affirmative action within Afro-American Studies. Watts

spoke on the paradox of phasing out minorities, within a liberal institution. Watts asserted that while it is important to hire anyone who is good for the job, it is very important to maintain affirmative action in the hiring of minorities. Watts also said the university needs to recognize the lack of a Black woman presence in the faculty.

Watts said that while it is necessary to increase the numbers of minorities on the faculty, such as increase would not be sufficient, and Watts worried about seeing the achievement of a certain number of minorities exploded into an incorrect representation of a final goal. He said this leads to a certain logic that denies the kind of community that he wants to talk about. And it is in this type of dialogue that Watts sees the Wesleyan type of toleration as being harmful, because it cannot encompass a long term goal of envisioning an academic environment where white scholars are as responsible for integrated discourse as black scholars. "I don't want to make the minority be the standard bearer for this inter-racial curriculum. We hope that there will be some point in time when we'll get some minorities who don't teach in subject matters related to their ethnicity and/or race."

Watts commented that, ironically, in the name of tolerance, people think in terms of ethnic territories, and the liberal thing to do becomes to set aside this area for this group, and that area for that group. "We have to begin to think in terms of common discourse we can enter into that goes beyond that type of toleration." The problem of compartmentalized thinking, Watts said, is that to go beyond one's ethnicity or race or gender is not seen as being progressive. "You've got this compartmentalization of appeals standing right next to each other and we call that a progressive coalition." Watts warned that this type of toleration leads to institutionalized racial separation, which prevents a common discourse and blocks the development of an inter-racial community. ▽

Anti-Zionism

continued from page 6

branded by "liberal" columnist Alan Dershowitz as, at the very least, the dupe of an anti-Semitic cabal.

Of course there are many anti-Semites who parade as anti-Zionists, and they must be exposed and repudiated. But the vast majority of anti-Zionists see the Jewish people as a large and very diverse group. And they see Zionism as a political movement with some members of the Jewish community as its supporters, like the Republican Party among Americans, or the Communist Party among Russians. One does not have to hate Russians to oppose the Communist Party.

The power of Zionism lies in linking itself with the long and often brutal oppression faced by the Jewish people throughout history. This allows Zionists to link any criticism of their ideology with the charge of anti-Semitism. Understandably, few want to be faced with this charge. The charge of anti-Semitism should be disassociated from political attacks on opponents of Israel and of Zionism. One cannot blame those individuals who have been led to believe that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. But at the same time, we must seriously question those organizations that selectively use the anti-Semitic tag against public figures for political purposes and are based largely on their support for Israel.

And those who oppose Zionism must clearly and unequivocally disassociate themselves from those who seek to use anti-Zionism as a cover for anti-Semitic ends.

By Brian Kassof

A more ambitious, though less successful comedy is writer/director Neil Jordan's *High Spirits*. The film concerns an old Irish castle owned by a silly nobleman (Peter

The romantic leads far less well. Steve Guttenberg is affable, but Jordan asks him to do a little more here and the actor just isn't able to deliver. Emotion isn't his strong suit. Nor is it Daryl Hannah's. After her pathetic performances in *Legal Eagles* and *Wall Street*, Hannah is well on her way to solidifying her reputation as one of the worst actors in Hollywood today. This movie could only help: you would think that perhaps a dead person would be within Hannah's emotional range. But as ever, she seems able to display only two emotions: petulance when she is not happy, and some kind of obviously feigned joy when she should be happy. To add to these horrors, she insists on

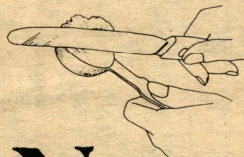
There's only one way to find out: tune in and watch. Given the baby boomer domination of the market today, this reunion was kind of inevitable. As teenagers, today's baby boomers must have totally identified with Greg and Marcia, just as we identify with the homogenized teens of today's T.V. world (like on *Family Ties* and *The Cosby Show*). Now the powers that be are giving them an opportunity to reorient themselves with the older versions of these characters. As for me, I'll be watching Bobby pretty closely so I can figure out what I should do after graduation. ▽



TRUER

THAN

STRANGE



Star Yams

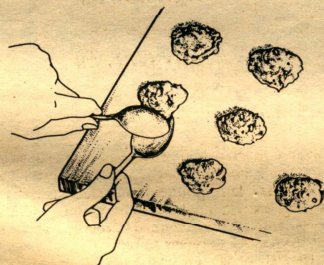
NASA has provided a \$200,000 grant to develop a new variety of sweet potato that can be grown in space.
—The Washington Monthly, December 1988

Shocking Crimes

Nine Canadian men have won \$750,000 from the U.S. in compensation for damage inflicted during bizarre CIA-backed mind control experiments. The men had sought counseling for various conditions, such as depression and anxiety, from Dr. Ewen Cameron, a psychiatrist at McGill University. Cameron tried to reprogram their personalities by giving them large doses of barbiturates, LSD, and electroshock treatments at up to 75 times the usual intensity. He also had them listen to tape-recorded messages for days on end.

The plaintiffs claimed they never consented to the specific therapies they received, were never told they were being used for research, and were scarred for life by the horrible ordeals. Cameron received \$60,000 from the CIA, and the Canadian government supplied \$200,000. "His treatment was not designed, controlled or directed by the CIA," John Bolton, Assistant Attorney General of the Civil Division of the Justice Department said.

—The Hartford Advocate, November 28, 1988



Shirting the Issue

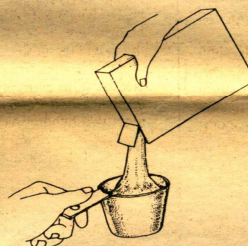
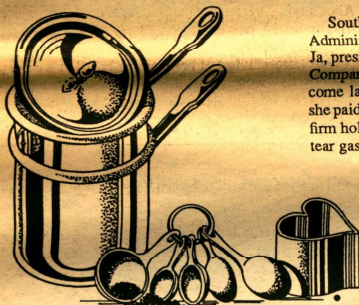
After Seaman High School in suburban Topeka, Kansas, banned clothing that promotes sex, drugs, alcoholism, or violence, students showed up with T-shirts proclaiming, THIS SHIRT DOES NOT PERTAIN TO SEX, DRUGS, ALCOHOL, OR VIOLENCE. On the back, the shirts asked, WHERE ARE OUR RIGHTS? Ken Hurn, the district superintendent, banned the protest shirt because it was deemed to be "a mockery of the intent of the board of education policy."

—The Progressive, December, 1988

Business is a Gas

South Korea's Office of National Tax Administration reports that Han Young Ja, president of the Sam Young Chemical Company, earned the nation's highest income last year—\$7.3 million, on which she paid \$3.4 million in income taxes. Her firm hold the monopoly on production of tear gas.

—The Progressive, December, 1988



The Soles of Justice

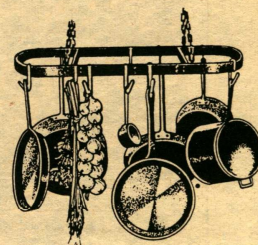
In Tucson, Arizona, Superior Court Judge William Scholl sentenced Ralph Malanga, a lawyer, to a week in jail for contempt of court. Malanga's offense: wearing green tennis shoes to court after the judge had warned him that such footwear detracts from judicial decorum.

—The Progressive, December 1988

Let Your Karma Do the Walking

With the New Age Telephone Book out of Los Angeles, you can reach waaaaaaay out and touch someone. The directory lists psychics, healers, numerologists, gurus, channelers, ghost hunters and almost anyone else who may appeal to followers of New Age philosophies. A real estate agent, for instance, offers clients "your own place in the universe." A "gentle dentist" promises free wine and stereo headphones. "We want to be the book that you pick up first if you have this particular consciousness," said managing editor Caryn Goldberg. "After all, the Pacific Bell Yellow Pages doesn't exactly have a category for rebirthers."

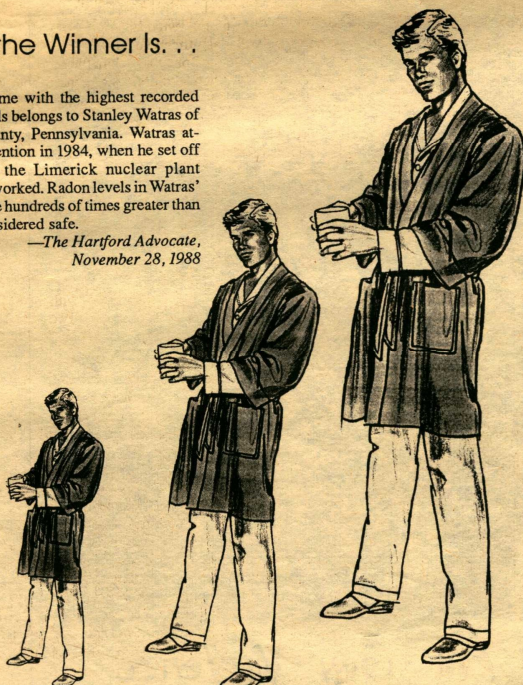
—The Hartford Courant November 30, 1988



And the Winner Is...

The home with the highest recorded radon levels belongs to Stanley Watras of Berks County, Pennsylvania. Watras attracted attention in 1984, when he set off alarms at the Limerick nuclear plant where he worked. Radon levels in Watras' home were hundreds of times greater than levels considered safe.

—The Hartford Advocate, November 28, 1988



President Busch

A recent survey of 8- to 12-year-olds found they could name 5.2 alcoholic beverages but only 4.8 presidents.

—The Washington Monthly, December 1988



Will the Fat Man Sing?

By Brian Kassof

Special Federal Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh today announced the indictment of one Santa Q. Claus in connection with the Iran-Contra scandal. "This guy's in it up to his beard!" a high-ranking administration figure was reported to exclaim upon receiving an inquiry into the matter.

Many have long awaited such an indictment. Investigators for the Tower Commission have collected files of evidence connecting Mr. Claus with gun-running and money-laundering schemes related to the scandal. Nicaraguan, Honduran and Costa Rican radar installations are reported to have repeatedly picked up ten very small blips flying in close formation during 1985. These are commonly believed to have been arms shipments delivered by Mr. Claus along the Honduran/Nicaraguan border. "When we started capturing *contras* armed with water pistols and G.I. Joe Death Lasers, we became extremely suspicious," reported Juan de Papelera of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry.

In addition to transporting weapons, Mr. Claus is also thought to have laundered funds made through the sale of arms to the Iranian Government. U.S. and Canadian tax officials report that Mr. Claus' manufacturing concerns in those two nations have shown zero profits over the last fifty years while reporting annual operating costs of up to \$500 million (U.S.).

Mr. Claus' organization is thought to operate as thus: he delivers gifts to youth around the world in return for kick-backs from their parents. "That's why he's so pissed about the Sandinistas," reported one foreign affairs expert, Mr. Declined-to-be-Interviewed, "because if they manage to de-Christianize the country, he loses a market. No Christmas, no Santa. Boy, was he mad in 1917."

Hermes found one parent who was willing to talk to us about this alleged racket. "It was back in the early 50's, when my son was growing up. One day in late November this "elf" shows up at my door. He said he was an elf, but Christ, the clown was about 6'5" and named Bertram. He asks me if I want to subscribe to Mr. Claus' 'service.' I told him to go to hell. He says, I'd better reconsider, that my son might grow up maladjusted if he's the only one on the block not to get any presents for the holidays. Well, that was over thirty years ago, and I think little Chuckie turned out just fine," reported Charles Manson, Sr.

"We've known Claus to be a mob front for years," reported an F.B.I. official who asked to be identified only as William B. Sessions, "but the damn operation is so closely knit that we just can't infiltrate it." Mr. Claus' labor force has long been a source of mystery and also the cause of several previous court appearances by the elderly gentleman.

The first of these was back in 1962, when the State of Alaska charged that Mr. Claus violated child labor laws in employing his elves, who the defense reported, "couldn't be older than nine or ten." The case made headlines when neither Claus nor the elves could produce birth certificates or any other relevant documents. But the Anchorage Prosecutor's Office dropped the case suddenly that winter, after several of its employees died in a series of mysterious reindeer stampedes.

Mr. Claus was next seen in court in 1984 as a character witness on the Elves behalf in their suit against the producers of *Santa Claus: The Movie*. The elves sued for defamation of character on the grounds that Dudley Moore had been hired to portray one of their number in the film. The elves were eventually awarded over \$3 million.

Claus returned to court two years later as a defendant. His elves had brought suit to enjoin Claus from beginning a mandatory drug testing program. "Tell me those little clowns aren't tripping," Claus was reported to say, "always dancing and singing and laughing. It's wreaking hell with my productivity schedule." The court ruled in the elves' favor and Mr. Claus was forced to end the testing.

Many have wondered why this indictment has been so long in coming. Mr. Declined-to-be-Interviewed reported that, "Ever since this Noriega deal, Justice [Ed. note: "Justice" is a slang term used inside the Beltway to describe the Justice Department. [Ed. note: "Inside the Beltway" is a slang term used to describe the District of Columbia and its environs.]] has been terrified of indicting foreigners we might not be able to extradite. Until now, nobody knew where the hell this Claus character was from." While Claus' exact address is still unknown, he has a post office box in the town of Moose Factory, Canada. On the basis of this evidence, the State Department has deduced that Claus is effectively a Canadian resident and expects no difficulties in extradition. Canadian officials, however, have reported that if Claus does reside in the Maple Leaf nation, he is a resident alien.

Moments after the indictment was announced, conservatives from around the nation embarked on a campaign to convince outgoing President Reagan to pardon Claus. "Christ, oops, I mean gosh, this guy is like a saint!" John J. Cardinal O'Connor of New York reportedly exclaimed. Others are looking to President-elect Bush for help. Conservative pundit William F. Buckley Jr. is reported to have said, "If Claus isn't a point of light, I don't know what is." Vice President Bush has reportedly responded, "I haven't yet had time to like look into this Claus thing, but I kinda like want to see that this justice thing is served." Vice-President-in-waiting Quayle reported the Vice-President had instructed him to be unavailable for comment.